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SOAS

THE Umayyad Caliphate 65-86/684-705

(A POLITICAL STUDY)

by

‘Abd Al-Ameer ‘Abd Dixon

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### ABSTRACT

This thesis is a political study of the Umayyad Caliphate during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 65-86/684-705. The first chapter deals with the political, social and religious background of 'Abd al-Malik, and relates this to his later policy on becoming caliph.

Chapter II is devoted to the 'Alid opposition of the period, i.e. the revolt of al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubaid al-Thaqafī, and its nature, causes and consequences.

The 'Aṣabiyya(tribal feuds), a dominant phenomenon of the Umayyad period, is examined in the third chapter. An attempt is made to throw light on its causes, and on the policies adopted by 'Abd al-Malik to contain it.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the civil war between 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubair. The underlying factors leading the people of al-Ḥijāz to support Ibn al-Zubair are examined, to elucidate the nature of the Zubairid opposition movement in general.

Chapter V deals with the revolts of Ibn al-Jarūd, and of the Zanj; the insurrection of the Azd in 'Umān; and the far more dangerous revolt of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ash'ath. These revolts are compared to see if they spring from similar discontents, and whether they are in response to the policies of al-Ḥajjāj.

Chapter VI treats the Kh̄arijite movement, which reached its height of activity in this period, in its political aspect, as a source of opposition to 'Abd al-Malik's caliphate. The minor, scattered revolts are described as well as the better-known major Kh̄arijite revolts. This chapter also examines the link between the revolt of Muṭarrif ibn al-Mugh̄irā, and the movement of Shabīb ibn Yazīd and the Kh̄arijites in general.



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A. A. Dixon

# ABBREVIATIONS

## Sources

<u>A' lāq.</u>	<u>Al-A' lāq al-Nafīsa</u> , by Ibn Rusta.
<u>Adyān.</u>	<u>Bayān al-Adyān</u> , by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī.
<u>Agh.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Aghānī</u> , by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī.
<u>Akhbār.</u>	<u>Akhbār al-'Abbās wa Wildihī</u> , (anonymous).
<u>Akhbār Iṣbahān.</u>	<u>Dhikr Akhbār Iṣbahān</u> , by Abū Nu'aim.
<u>Āmidī.</u>	<u>Al-Mu'talif wa'l-Mukhtalif...</u> , by al-Āmidī.
<u>Amālī.</u>	<u>Al-Amālī</u> , by al-Zajjājī.
<u>Ansāb.</u>	<u>Ansāb al-Ashrāf</u> , by al-Balādhurī.
<u>Arab.</u>	<u>Nihāyat al-Arab fi Ma'rifat Ansāb al-'Arab</u> , by Qalqashandī.
<u>'Asākīr.</u>	<u>Tahdhīb al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr &amp; Tārīkh Dimashq</u> , by Ibn 'Asākīr.
<u>Āthār.</u>	<u>Al-Athār al-Bāqiya 'An al-Qurūn al-Khāliya</u> , by al-Bīrunī.
<u>Azkawī</u>	<u>Kashf al-Ghumma al-Jāmi' li Akhbār al-Umma</u> , by Sirḥān ibn Sa'īd al-Azkawī.
<u>Azmina.</u>	<u>Al-Azmina wa'l-Amkina</u> , by al-Marzūqī.
<u>Azraqī.</u>	<u>Akhbār Mecca</u> , by Al-Azraqī.
<u>Bagh.</u>	<u>Al-Farq baina'l-Firaq</u> , by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī.
<u>Bakrī.</u>	<u>Mu'jam ma lsta'jam</u> , by al-Bakrī.
<u>Bakkār.</u>	<u>Jamharat Nasab Quraysh</u> , by al-Zubair ibn Bakkār.
<u>Barrādī.</u>	<u>Al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqāt</u> , by al-Barrādī.
<u>Baṭrīq.</u>	<u>Al-Tārīkh al-Majmū' 'Ala'l-Tahqīq</u> , by Sa'īd ibn al-Baṭrīq.

<u>Bayān.</u>	<u>Al-Bayān wa'l Tabyīn</u> , by al-Jāhiz.
<u>Bayāsī.</u>	<u>Al-I'lam Bi'l-Hurūb al-Wāqī'a fi Şadr'l-Islām</u> , by al Bayāsī.
<u>Bad'.</u>	<u>Al-Bad' wa'l Tārīkh</u> , by al-Maqdisī.
<u>Bidāya.</u>	<u>Al-Bidāya wa'l Nihāya</u> , by Ibn Kathīr.
<u>Bughya.</u>	<u>Bughyat al-Ṭalab</u> , by Ibn al-ʿAdīm.
<u>Buldān.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Buldān</u> , by al-Yaʿqūbī.
<u>Dhahabī.</u>	<u>Tārīkh al-Islām wa Ṭabaqāt al-Mashāhīr wa'l-ʿAlām</u> , by al-Dhahabī.
<u>Dīnawarī.</u>	<u>Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl</u> , by al-Dīnawarī.
<u>Duwal.</u>	<u>Duwal al-Islām</u> , by al-Dhahabī.
<u>Fakhrī.</u>	<u>Al-Fakhrī fil Adāb al-Şultāniyya</u> , by Ibn al-Ṭīqtaqā.
<u>Fişal.</u>	<u>Al-Fişal fil Milal wa'l-Nihāl</u> , by Ibn Ḥazm.
<u>Futūh.</u>	<u>Futūh al-Buldān</u> , by al-Balādhurī.
<u>Ghurar.</u>	<u>Ghurar al-Siyar</u> , (anonymous).
<u>Ḥadhif.</u>	<u>Ḥadhif min Nasab Quraish</u> , by Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī.
<u>Hamadānī.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Buldān</u> , by Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī.
<u>Ḥayawān.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Ḥayawān</u> , by al-Jāhiz.
<u>Ḥilya.</u>	<u>Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'</u> , by Abū Nuʿaim.
<u>Ḥūr.</u>	<u>Al-Ḥūr al-ʿIn</u> , by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī.
<u>Ibn Khurdādhaba.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Masālik</u> , by Ibn Khurdādhaba.
<u>Ibn Isfandiyār.</u>	<u>Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān</u> , by Ibn Isfandiyār.
<u>Imāma.</u>	<u>Al-Imāma wa'l-Siyāsa</u> , (attributed to Ibn Qutaiba).
<u>Imtā'.</u>	<u>Al-Imtā' wa'l-Mu'ānasa</u> , by al-Tawḥīdī.

<u>Ināfa.</u>	<u>Ma' āthir al-Ināfa fi Ma' ālim al-Khilāfa</u> , by Qalqashandī.
<u>‘Ibar.</u>	<u>Al-‘Ibar</u> , by Ibn Khaldūn.
<u>‘Ibrī.</u>	<u>Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal</u> , by Ibn al-‘Ibrī.
<u>‘Iqd.</u>	<u>Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd</u> , by Ibn ‘Abd Rabīh.
<u>Irshād.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Irshād</u> , by al-Mufīd.
<u>Iṣāba.</u>	<u>Al-Iṣāba fi Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba</u> , by Ibn Ḥajar.
<u>Iṣṭakhrī.</u>	<u>Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik</u> , by al-Iṣṭakhrī.
<u>Iṣṭī‘āb.</u>	<u>Al-Iṣṭī‘āb fi Ma' rifat al-Aṣḥāb</u> , by Ibn ‘Abd al-Bar.
<u>Jalīs.</u>	<u>Al-Jalīs al-Ṣāliḥ al-Kāfī...</u> , by al-Mu‘āfā al-Nahrawānī.
<u>Jahshiyārī.</u>	<u>Al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb</u> , by al-Jahshiyārī.
<u>Jamharat.</u>	<u>Jamharat Ansāb al-‘Arab</u> , by Ibn Ḥazm.
<u>Jumahī.</u>	<u>Tabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu‘arā'</u> , by Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī.
<u>Kāmil.</u>	<u>Al-Kāmil fi'l-Tārīkh</u> , by Ibn al-Athīr.
<u>Kindī.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Umarā' (Wulāt)</u> , wa <u>Kitāb al-Quḍāt</u> , by al-Kindī.
<u>Kūfī.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Futūḥ</u> , by Ibn A‘tham al-Kūfī.
<u>Kutubī.</u>	<u>‘Uyūn al-Tawārīkh</u> , by Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī.
<u>Khiṭaṭ.</u>	<u>Khiṭaṭ</u> , by al-Maqrizi.
<u>Khizāna.</u>	<u>Khizānat al-Adab</u> , by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī.
<u>Khulafā'.</u>	<u>Tārīkh al-Khulafā'</u> , (anonymous).
<u>Khulānī.</u>	<u>Tārīkh Dāriyya</u> , by al-Khulānī.
<u>Laṭā'if.</u>	<u>Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif</u> , by al-Tha‘ālibī.
<u>Lisān.</u>	<u>Lisān al-Mīzān</u> , by Ibn Ḥajar.

<u>Lub.</u>	<u>Lub al-Lubāb</u> , by al-Suyūṭī.
<u>Lubāb.</u>	<u>Lub al-Lubāb fi Tahdhīb al-Ansāb</u> , by Ibn al-Athīr.
<u>Ma'ad.</u>	<u>Nasab Ma'ad wa'l-Yemen al-Kabīr</u> , by Ibn al-Kalbī.
<u>Ma'anī.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Ma'anī al-Kabīr</u> , by Ibn Qutaiba.
<u>Ma'arif.</u>	<u>Al-Ma'arif</u> , by Ibn Qutaiba.
<u>Mahāsin.</u>	<u>Al-Mahāsin wa'l-Addād</u> , by al-Jāhiz.
<u>Mafātīḥ.</u>	<u>Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm</u> , by al-Khawārizmī.
<u>Mal'atī.</u>	<u>Al-Tanbīh wa'l-Rad 'Ala Ahl al-Ahwā' wa'l-Bida'</u> , by al-Malati.
<u>Maqālāt.</u>	<u>Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn</u> , by al-Ash'arī.
<u>Masālik.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik</u> , by Ibn Ḥawqal.
<u>Mashāhīr.</u>	<u>Mashāhīr 'Ulamā' al-Amṣār</u> , by al-Bustī.
<u>Milal.</u>	<u>Al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal</u> , by al-Shahrastānī.
<u>Mir'at.</u>	<u>Mir'at al-Zamān</u> , by Ibn al-Jawzī.
<u>Mubarrad.</u>	<u>Al-Kāmil fi'l-Lughā</u> , by al-Mubarrad.
<u>Muḥabbar.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Muḥabbar</u> , by Ibn Ḥabīb.
<u>Muḡtālīn.</u>	<u>Asmā' al-Muḡtālīn min al-Ashrāf</u> , by Ibn Ḥabīb.
<u>Mu'jam.</u>	<u>Mu'jam al-Buldān</u> , by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī.
<u>Mukhtaṣar.</u>	<u>Al-Mukhtaṣar fi Akhbār al-Bashar</u> , by Abu'l-Fida.
<u>Munammaq.</u>	<u>Al-Munammaq fi Akhbār Quraish</u> , by Ibn Ḥabīb.
<u>Muntakhabāt.</u>	<u>Muntakhabāt fi Akhbār al-Yemen</u> , by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī.
<u>Muntaẓam.</u>	<u>Al-Muntaẓam fi'l-Tārīkh</u> , by Ibn al-Jawzī.
<u>Muqadima.</u>	<u>Al-Muqadima</u> , by Ibn Khaldūn.

<u>Muqaddisī.</u>	<u>Aḥsan al-Taqaṣīm fi Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm</u> , by al-Muqaddisī.
<u>Muqaffaʿ.</u>	<u>Tārīkh al-Baṭāriqa al-Misriyya</u> , by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (Severus).
<u>Murtadā.</u>	<u>Ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila</u> , by Ibn al-Murtadā.
<u>Murūj.</u>	<u>Murūj al-Dhahab</u> , by al-Masʿūdī.
<u>Naqāʾid.</u>	<u>Naqāʾid Jarīr waʾl-Farazdaq</u> , by Abū ʿUbayda.
<u>Nasab.</u>	<u>Jamharat al-Nasab</u> , by Ibn al-Kalbī.
<u>Nawbakhtī.</u>	<u>Firaq al-Shīʿa</u> , by al-Nawbakhtī.
<u>Nihāya.</u>	<u>Al-Nihāya fi Ḡharīb al-Ḥadīth</u> , by Ibn al-Athīr.
<u>Nizāʿ.</u>	<u>Al-Nizāʿ waʾl Takhāṣum Baina Banū Umayya wa Banū Hāshim</u> , by al-Maqrīzī.
<u>Nuwairī.</u>	<u>Nihāt al-Arab fi Funūn al-Adab</u> , by al-Nuwairī.
<u>Qabāʾil.</u>	<u>Mukhtalif al-Qabāʾil wa Muʿtaliḥa</u> , by Ibn Ḥabīb.
<u>Qudāt.</u>	<u>Akḥbār al-Qudāt</u> , by Wakīʿ.
<u>Rijāl.</u>	<u>Maʿrifat al-Rijāl</u> , by al-Kashshī.
<u>Ṣabī.</u>	<u>Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa</u> , by al-Ṣabī.
<u>Saʿd.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr</u> , by Ibn Saʿd.
<u>Samʿānī.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Ansāb</u> , by al-Samʿānī.
<u>Shadharāt.</u>	<u>Shadharāt al-Dhahab fi Akḥbār man Dhahab</u> , by Ibn al-ʿImād.
<u>Shams.</u>	<u>Shamsʾil-ʿUlūm wa Dawāʾ Kalāmʾil-ʿArab minʾl-Kulūm</u> , by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī.
<u>Sharḥ.</u>	<u>Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha</u> , by Ibn Abiʾl-Ḥadīd.
<u>Ṣināʿatain.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Ṣināʿatain</u> , by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī.
<u>Sīra.</u>	<u>Sīrat al-Nabī</u> , by Ibn Hishām.

<u>Sīrāfī.</u>	<u>Akhbār al-Nahwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn</u> , by al-Sīrāfī.
<u>Siyar.</u>	<u>Kitāb al-Siyar</u> , by al-Shammākhī.
<u>Ṣubḥ.</u>	<u>Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣha</u> , by Qalqashandī.
<u>Ṣulī.</u>	<u>Adab al-Kātib</u> , by al-Ṣulī.
<u>Sistān.</u>	<u>Tārīkh-i Sistān</u> , (anonymous).
<u>Shu'arā'.</u>	<u>Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā'</u> , by Ibn Qutaiba.
<u>Suyūṭī.</u>	<u>Tārīkh al-Khulafā'</u> , by al-Suyūṭī.
<u>Tab.</u>	<u>Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk</u> , by Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī.
<u>Tahdhīb.</u>	<u>Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb</u> , by Ibn Ḥajar.
<u>Tanbīh.</u>	<u>Al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf</u> , by al-Mas'ūdī.
<u>Ṭūsī.</u>	<u>Fihrist Kutub al-Shī'a</u> , by al-Ṭūsī.
<u>Usd.</u>	<u>Usd. al-Ghāba fi Tamayyīz al-Ṣaḥāba</u> , by Ibn al-Athīr.
<u>'Uyūn.</u>	<u>'Uyūn al-Akhbār</u> , by Ibn Qutaiba.
<u>Wāqidī.</u>	<u>Al-Maghāzī</u> , by al-Wāqidī.
<u>Ya'qūbī.</u>	<u>Tārīkh</u> , by al-Ya'qūbī.
<u>Zubda.</u>	<u>Zubdat al-Ḥalab</u> , by Ibn al-'Adīm.
<u>Zubaidī.</u>	<u>Tabaqāt al-Nahwiyyīn wa'l-Lughawīyyīn</u> , by al-Zubaidī.
<u>Zubairī.</u>	<u>Nasab Quraish</u> , by Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī.

Periodicals

<u>AIOC.</u>	All India Oriental Conference.
<u>AIUON.</u>	Annali Institute Orientale di Napoli.
<u>AJSL.</u>	American Journal of Semetic Languages and Literature.
<u>ANSM.</u>	American Numismatic Society Museum.
<u>AO.</u>	Archiv Orientalni.
<u>AU DTCFD.</u>	Ankara University Dil Ve Tarih-Cografya Fakultesi Dergisi.
<u>BSOAS.</u>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
<u>BZ.</u>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
<u>DI.</u>	Der Islam.
<u>DOP.</u>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers.
<u>EAW.</u>	East and West.
<u>IC.</u>	Islamic Culture.
<u>IR.</u>	Islamic Review.
<u>JA.</u>	Journal Asiatique.
<u>JAOS.</u>	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<u>JBBRAS.</u>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<u>JESHO.</u>	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.
<u>JSS.</u>	Journal of Semetic Studies.
<u>JUP.</u>	Journal of the University of Peshawar.
<u>JWH.</u>	Journal of the World History.
<u>MI.</u>	Majalat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī.
<u>MIA.</u>	Majalat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī.

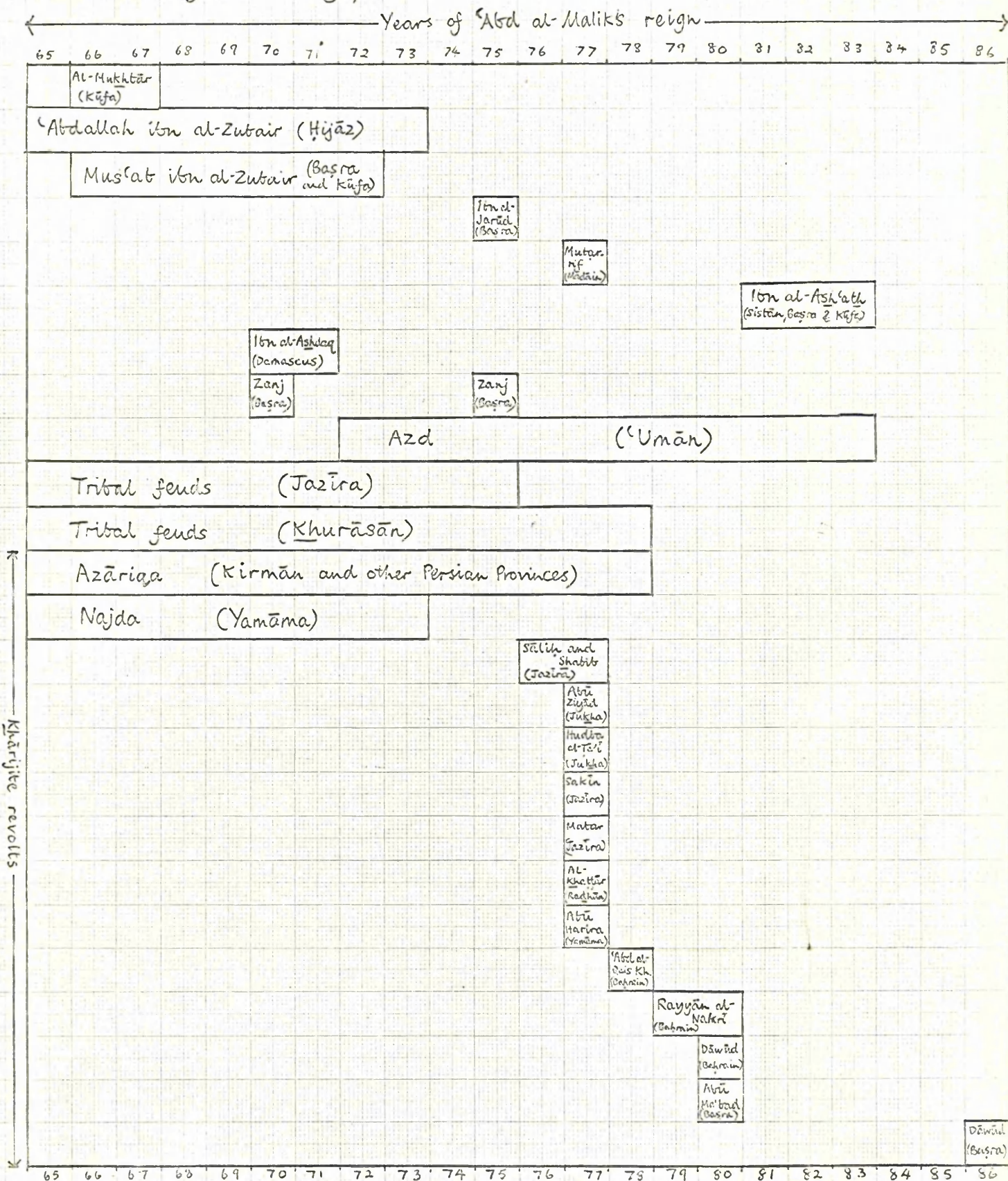


<u>MKAB.</u>	Majalat Kuliyyat al- <u>Ādāb</u> -Baghdād.
<u>MKAC.</u>	Majalat Kuliyyat al- <u>Ādāb</u> -Cairo.
<u>MKSB.</u>	Majalat Kuliyyat al- <u>Sharīʿ</u> a-Baghdād.
<u>MM.</u>	Melanges Maspero.
<u>MPV.</u>	Macdonald Presentation Volume.
<u>MSOS.</u>	Mitthelungeu des Seminars fur Orientalische Spracheu.
<u>MTH.</u>	Melanges Ṭāha Ḥusain.
<u>NC.</u>	Numismatic Chronicle.
<u>NLA.</u>	Nacata Lugal Armagani.
<u>PBA.</u>	Proceeding of the British Academy.
<u>PPHC.</u>	Proceeding of the Pakistan History Conference.
<u>RCI.</u>	Revue Coloniale Internationale.
<u>REI.</u>	Revue des Etudes Islamique.
<u>RL.</u>	Rendiconti... .. dei Lincei.
<u>RN.</u>	Revue Numismatique.
<u>RO.</u>	Rocznik Orientalistyczny.
<u>RSO.</u>	Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
<u>SI.</u>	Studia Islamica.
<u>SII.</u>	Studies in Islam.
<u>SNR.</u>	Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau.
<u>WOI.</u>	The World of Islam.
<u>ZDMG.</u>	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
<u>ZHPV.</u>	Dr. Zākir Ḥusain Presentation Volume.

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Diagram showing the opposition to 'Abd al-Malik, 65-86 A. H.



## INTRODUCTION

### SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

Since most of the extant sources dealing with our period have come down to us from the time of the 'Abbāsids,<sup>1</sup> those inveterate enemies of the Umayyads, it is extremely difficult to do justice to the Umayyad cause: it gets scarce sympathy from an historical tradition which was the product of the period following their fall from power. Apart from the pious caliph, 'Umar II, all the Umayyads are represented as irreligious and frivolous. The anti-Umayyad historians exploited to the utmost the fact that the Umayyads were the immediate successors of the Orthodox Caliphs, and judged them by the same standards; they disregarded the fact that a vast empire like that of the Umayyads could not be administered by the same primitive methods as in the early years of the Caliphate.<sup>2</sup>

However, there are slight traces of a less unsympathetic tradition in the Syrian sources found in Christian writings,<sup>3</sup> as well as in scattered

1. Two books only are said to have come to us from the Umayyad period. The first is called "Kitāb al-Saqīfa", attributed to Salīm ibn Qais (d. 90 A.H.), published by al-Ḥaydariyya Press, Najaf. See N. A. Dāwūd, Nash'at al-Shī'a al-Imāmiyya, pp. 22-23. The second book is "Kitāb al-Zuhd" by Asad ibn Mūsā al-Umawī (d. 133 A.H.). This work is still in manuscript form in Berlin, no. 1553. See Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur, S. I., p. 257, & p. 351; Mackensen, Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period, Part I, p. 250, in AJSL, vol. 52, 1936.
2. Arnold, The Caliphate, p. 26, London, 1965.
3. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p. xiv ff., Beirut, 1963.

narratives in the general histories of Islam. Only by considering these can one attempt to reconstruct a more balanced picture of the Umayyad caliphate under which "Islam had established itself as a universal religion."<sup>1</sup>

For the period under consideration our sources are annals, literature, local histories, geographies, religious literature, coins and inscriptions. In each chapter of this study is provided a comparison of the different narratives with some critical remarks, and attention has been drawn to the fact that the later sources simply repeat and re-edit the information provided by the earlier sources. Their major value is in clarifying points which remain obscure in the earlier sources.<sup>2</sup> There remains only to provide a quick survey of the basic and major sources used in this study, with special emphasis on those not previously accessible to historians of the Umayyad period.

1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt,<sup>3</sup> Shabāb (d.240/854-5), a Basran historian and traditionist. His Tārīkh represents the oldest annals of the history of Islam that have survived.<sup>4</sup> It begins with the first year of Hijra and ends with the

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1. E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (Umayyads).
  2. Kister, Notes on the Papyrus Text about Muḥammad's Campaign against the Banū al-Naḍīr, pp.233-6, AO, 32, 1964; idem, Notes on the Account of the Shura appointed by 'Umar B. al-Khaṭṭāb, pp.320-6, JSS, IX, no.2, 1964.
  3. Two editions of both the Tārīkh and the Tabaqāt of Khalīfa are available. The first is edited by S. Zakkār and published in Damascus, 1966-7. The second is edited by A. al-'Umarī and published in Najaf and Baghdād, 1967. Being a study of Khalīfa's works as well as editing them, the Iraqi edition is more useful in that it contains an important introduction and valuable notes.
  4. Al-'Alī, in his introduction to the Tārīkh of Khalīfa, p.11.

year 230/844-5. Being himself a traditionist as were his father and grandfather, Khalīfa adopted the method of the traditionists in his Tārīkh by quoting a chain of authorities. For the Umayyad period and more especially for the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik, Khalīfa quotes a chain of authorities containing among others, ‘Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū’l-Yaqqān, Ibn al-Kalābī, Abū ‘Ubaida, al-Madā’inī, al-Aṣma‘ī, Ibn ‘Ayyāsh and his grandfather, Khalīfa. Some of the narratives in the Tārīkh are, in fact, Umayyad, such as that of al-Muḥallab ibn Abī Sufra, reported on the authority of Ibn ‘Ayyāsh, predicting ‘Abd al-Malik's future as caliph because of his piety and family connections.<sup>1</sup> While Khalīfa deals very briefly with the Shī‘ī revolts during ‘Abd al-Malik's reign, such as al-Tawābūn and the movement of al-Mukhtār,<sup>2</sup> he shows great interest in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath, which he reports on the authority of Abu’l-Yaqqān.<sup>3</sup> The latter is a great sympathiser of the Umayyads.<sup>4</sup> Khalīfa also gives us important information about the revolt of ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq, from which we can learn some of the terms of agreement between him and ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>5</sup> Moreover,

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1. Tārīkh, I, pp. 257-8.

2. Ibid., I, pp. 258, 259, 260.

3. Ibid., I, pp. 279-290.

4. Al-‘Umarī in his introduction to the Ṭabaqāt of Khalīfa, p. 22.

5. Tārīkh, I, p. 263.

apart from this moderate Umayyad sympathy revealed in the Tārīkh, it is an invaluable source for the lists of governors, Qādis, chief of police and directors of the Dīwāns, with which Khalīfa concludes the account of the reign of each caliph; the list of the Qurra' who participated in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath is also of outstanding value.<sup>1</sup>

In his Jabaqāt, Khalīfa gives both the patrilineal and matrilineal genealogy of each person, also mentioning his place of residence, his travels, the date of his death, and his participation in the conquests and campaigns, as well as the administrative post he occupied, especially if he was a Qādī or a governor. In addition to this important information, the Jabaqāt contains valuable information on the Khiṭaṭ of al-Baṣra. Thus both the Tārīkh and the Jabaqāt are indispensable sources for the early history of Islam.

2. Al-Ma'ārif by Ibn Qutaiba 'Abdallāh ibn Muslim al-Dīnawarī (d.276/889). This work has an encyclopaedic character, and contains important information on 'Abd al-Malik's reign. It provides material on the early life of 'Abd al-Malik, as well as giving a short account of the major events of his reign. Like Jahshiyārī, Ibn Qutaiba does not mention his authorities in his account of 'Abd al-Malik's reign.

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1. Ibid., I, pp.286-288.



3. Abu'l-‘Abbās, Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), one of the most useful Arabic historians. His Ansāb al-Ashrāf is a rich and valuable source for the history of the Umayyad period: over a third of the manuscript, which contains 1227 folios, is devoted to the Umayyad history, of which 130 folios are concerned with ‘Abd al-Malik, with another sizeable chapter of 40 folios on al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>1</sup> To this should be added the long chapters on Ibn al-Zubair and on al-Mukhtār.<sup>2</sup> What is more important than the length of the chapters is their quality as history: Balādhurī is one of the few to deal objectively with the Umayyads.

His basic authorities on this period are: Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī and his son ‘Abbās, Madā’inī, Abū Mikhnaḥ, ‘Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam and Wāqidī. The narratives of Abū Mikhnaḥ and ‘Awāna are reported by al-Balādhurī: to have reached him through Hishām ibn al-Kalbī and his son, ‘Abbās. Balādhurī does not, however, mention Abū Mikhnaḥ's sources of information, beyond referring to them by such phrases as *سناد* or *في روايته*<sup>3</sup>. This shows either that Balādhurī used the writing of Abū Mikhnaḥ directly or via Ibn al-Kalbī, or that the writings of previous historians were well established by Balādhurī's time.<sup>4</sup>

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1. See the introduction of the Jerusalem edition of Ansāb al-Ashrāf, 1936.

2. See Ansāb, V, pp. 188-379 and pp. 204-269.

3. Ibid., IV, ii, pp. 155-157 & V, pp. 218-220.

4. Introduction of Ansāb al-Ashrāf, Jerusalem, 1936; Dūrī, Baḥṭh fi Nash’at ‘Ilm al-Tārīkh ‘Inda’l-‘Arab, p. 49, Beirut, 1960.

Concerning 'Awāna's narratives in the Ansāb, they can be easily detected by their brief, non-continuous character. Interestingly enough, in dealing with the revolt of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, Balādhurī mentions four different narratives but omits that of 'Awāna reported in Ṭabarī.<sup>1</sup> This was no doubt due to the fact that 'Awāna clearly takes the side of 'Abd al-Malik in this revolt, and his account contains references to the idea of "Jabr". It seems that 'Awāna was not an objective enough source for so conscientious an historian as Balādhurī.<sup>2</sup>

The most often quoted authority in al-Ansāb for the reign of 'Abd al-Malik is Madā'inī. In contrast to Ṭabarī, who quotes Madā'inī only on events concerning Baṣra and the Eastern provinces, Balādhurī uses him for many different events in varying places: thus showing Balādhurī's superior wisdom of making greater use of a reliable source.

Next to Madā'inī, Wāqidī was the most frequently quoted source used by Balādhurī. Most of the quotations in his name are in the form of short reports. He is a particularly important authority on the fall and death of Ibn al-Zubair.<sup>3</sup> The fact that al-Hijāz, the centre of Ibn al-Zubair's activities, was the birth place and home town of Wāqidī, is significant in this respect.

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1. Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.138-146.

2. Ṭab., II, pp.783-789.

3. Ansāb, V, pp.355-374.

A comparison of Ṭabarī's text with the information given by Balādhurī's Ansāb clearly shows the latter's superiority. Balādhurī takes pains to give a complete picture of the Khārījite opposition under 'Abd al-Malik, and pays great attention to the tribal feuds which were a dominating factor of the reign. On the other hand, Ṭabarī neglects important events such as the revolt of Ibn al-Jārūd and of the Zanj in Baṣra, and is imprecise on the nature of the revolt of Muṭarrif ibn al-Maghīra, among other things.

In his Futūḥ al-Buldān Balādhurī furnishes indispensable information on the administrative aspects of the conquered provinces, dealing with such issues as taxation, the introduction of Arabic money and of Arabic as an official language throughout the Empire. Moreover, Futūḥ al-Buldān contains scattered historical information which, taken with the administrative accounts, gives a more coherent picture of our period.

4. Al-Akhbār al-Jiwāl, by Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895). In his treatment of the Umayyad period, al-Dīnawarī devotes most attention to the political and religious movements in the eastern part of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> As far as the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān is concerned, he concentrates on the revolt of al-Mukhtār, the wars of the Azāriqa and the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. He has a strong tendency to exaggerate the role of the mawālī in the revolt of al-Mukhtār, and he went as far as to represent the war between Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair

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1. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (al-Dīnawarī).

and al-Mukhtār as a war between Arab and Persian.<sup>1</sup> His pro-mawālī attitude is probably due to both his Persian origins, and to the sources he utilized, which were mainly Persian.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, his account of the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath is inaccurate and misleading and is unconfirmed by other sources. He believed the revolt to have been started in Kūfa as a result of propaganda by Ibn al-Ash‘ath among the Qurra’ and religious men.<sup>3</sup> However, some of his work is historically valuable, as for example, his accounts of the revolt of ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq, and the Azāirqa.<sup>4</sup> These two accounts complement, and are confirmed by, other sources. As a final comment on al-Dīnawarī, I should mention that he has no critical attitude to his sources,<sup>5</sup> nor does he name them.

5. Al-Ya‘qūbī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya‘qūb (d.284/897), Arab historian and geographer.<sup>6</sup> His account of this period is concise and reveals a moderate pro-‘Alid sympathy, which sometimes turns anti-Umayyad. For example, when dealing with the accession of ‘Abd al-Malik to the throne, al-Ya‘qūbī mentions that his two grandfathers were expelled by the

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1. al-Akhbār al-Jiwāl, pp.296, 298, 300-302, 306 and especially p.310.

2. E.I.<sup>2</sup>, (al-Dīnawarī).

3. See Chapter V, p.270.

4. al-Akhbār al-Jiwāl, pp.285-289, 294-295.

5. Ibid., p.298.

6. E.I.<sup>1</sup>, (al-Ya‘qūbī).

Prophet,<sup>1</sup> and he also reports the tradition which considered 'Abd al-Malik as much a tyrant as the Pharaoh.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī also shows himself strongly against al-Ḥajjāj in describing his policy in both al-Ḥijāz and Iraq.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, his pro-'Alid feelings led him to repeat some of the anti-Zubairid tradition, especially when the relationship between Ibn al-Zubair and Ibn al-Ḥanifiyya and Ibn 'Abbās was not cordial.<sup>4</sup> Another occasion when he was anti-Zubairid was in his reporting of the massacre which Muṣ'ab inflicted on the Shī'ī supporters of al-Mukhtār:<sup>5</sup> he portrays this as "one of the most memorable betrayals of the 'amān'."

However, despite his obvious distortions, some of his information is original and valuable: for example, on the underlying economic factors<sup>6</sup> governing the support the Medinese gave to Ibn al-Zubair; the troubles in Khurāsān;<sup>7</sup> and the lists of governors and theologians he provides at the

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1. Tārīkh, II, p.320.

2. Ibid., p.336. See Also Mushākalat al-Nās li Zamānihim, p.18.

3. Tārīkh, II, pp.325,326; Mushākalat al-Nās li Zamānihim, p.18.

4. Tārīkh, II, pp.311-313, 320.

5. Ibid., p.315.

6. Ibid., pp.297-8.

7. Ibid., pp.320-324, 330.

end of the account of each caliph. From the list of authorities he gives at the beginning of the second volume of his Tārīkh, one can detect that some of them were actually 'Abbāsīd.<sup>1</sup> This throws some light on his flattering accounts of Ibn 'Abbās<sup>2</sup> during our period.

6. Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, (d.310/923), the most detailed and comprehensive collection of narratives on the Caliphate in general. In dealing with the Umayyad period, he concentrates largely on events in Iraq and the eastern provinces, which can be explained by the fact that these areas, being the centre of opposition to the Umayyads, were the scene of the most interesting events: the history of the Umayyads is, in fact, the history of Iraq and the East. As a traditionist, Ṭabarī strongly emphasises his chain of authority, and abstains from criticising their contents.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, some general remarks on Ṭabarī's authorities are of special importance in this connection. For 'Abd al-Malik's reign, Ṭabarī's authorities are: Abū Mikhnaḥ, 'Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam, Madā'inī and Wāqidī. The most prominent among them is Abū Mikhnaḥ, on whose authority almost all the affairs of Iraq, and more especially

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1. Dūrī, Baḥth fi Nash'at 'Ilm al-Tārīkh 'Inda 'l-'Arab, p.52.

2. Tārīkh, II, p.313.

3. Dūrī, The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century - a Sketch, p.53 in Historians of the Middle East, ed. M.P. Holt and B. Lewis, Oxford, 1964.

of Kūfa, are reported. On the whole, Abū Mikhnaf's narratives are unbiased, although in some of them appears a sympathy for the 'Alids, and for Iraq and Kūfa; and occasionally, he glorifies the Azd, his own tribe.<sup>1</sup>

While Abū Mikhnaf is Ṭabarī's authority on Iraqi affairs, 'Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam was the one on whose authority are reported Umayyad and Syrian affairs. Like Abū Mikhnaf's, 'Awāna's narratives are handed down by Hishām ibn al-Kalbī, but Ṭabarī mentions no chain of authority for this. 'Awāna is quoted only four times throughout the period of 'Abd al-Malik's reign, each time for events in Syria, one of them concerned with the inner circles of the Umayyad family. 'Awāna is quoted in dealing with the army sent by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (at the end of his reign) under 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq against Ibn al-Zubair; the army of Ḥubaish ibn Dulja sent against Ḥijāz, and finally, the revolt of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-Ashdaq and his murder by 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>2</sup> Some of 'Awāna's accounts use the concept of "Jabr" (predestination) in public affairs, propagated by the Umayyads. Examples of this are his mention of the wife of Ka'b al-Aḥbār predicting that 'Amr would die; and the story of when 'Amr saw 'Uthmān in a dream, who clothed him in his own shirt.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tab., II, pp.497-576, 707-14; Duri, *The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century, a Sketch*, p.49, in the *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. M.P. Holt and B. Lewis, London, 1964.
  2. Tab., II, pp. 576, 578-9, 642-3, 784-96.
  3. Tab., II, pp.784-796.

In dealing with events in Baṣra and Khurāsān, Ṭabarī depends exclusively on the narrative of Madā'inī, an indisputed authority on the events in these two areas. Madā'inī's narrative has come down to us most frequently through 'Umar b. Shabba. The latter is, like Madā'inī, a Baṣran and greatly interested in the history of his native city and of Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> Madā'inī is a trustworthy man, and "his accuracy has been confirmed by modern investigation."<sup>2</sup> However, in some of his narratives, such as those on the tribal feud in Khurāsān following Yazīd's death, and on Mūsā ibn 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim,<sup>3</sup> he relies noticeably on tribal traditions and legends.

All the quotations from Wāqidī, except for one which deals with 'Abd al-Malik's attempt to depose his brother 'Abd al-Azīz from the succession to the throne, are concerned with the affairs of Ibn al-Zubair in al-Hijāz and his brother Muṣ'ab in Baṣra.<sup>4</sup> Wāqidī's accounts, generally speaking, are not partisan, but at times he shows Zubairid leanings, such as in the war between Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair and al-Mukhtār.<sup>5</sup> There is,

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1. Pellat, C., Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Gahiz, p.14, no.3.

2. Gibb, H.R., Studies on the Civilization of Islam, p.115.

3. Tab., II, pp.1145-1164; 489.

4. Tab., II, pp.748-9, 781-3, 796-7, 804-6, 829-831, 844-852.

5. Tab., II, pp.847-9.



however, no evidence to confirm Ibn al-Nadīm's accusation of 'Alid partisanship.<sup>1</sup>

7. Abū Muḥammad, Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī al-Kindī (d.314/926), the author of Kitāb al-Futūḥ.<sup>2</sup> The first volume of al-Futūḥ, which contains 270 folios, begins with the caliphate of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and ends with the revolt of al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubaid al-Thaqafī 66/685. The second volume consisting of 278 folios, continues the account of al-Mukhtār's revolt and ends with the suppression of Babak's revolt in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim 218-227. As it is only available in manuscript<sup>3</sup> and until recently unknown, al-Kūfī's Futūḥ has not been utilized previously in the study of the Umayyad period. Ibn A'tham's authorities are given in the introductory paragraph to the first volume as Madā'inī, Wāqidī, Zuhri, Abū Mikhnaḥ and Hishām ibn al-Kalbī, as well as others of lesser importance.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Fihrist, p.144; see also introduction to Kitāb al-Maghāzī of al-Wāqidī, Oxford, 1966, p.18.
  2. Brockelmann, op. cit., I, p.150; Supp., I, p.220. However, judging from the statement made by Ibn A'tham in his list of authorities, which makes him a contemporary of al-Madā'inī (d.225/840), Dr. M.A. Sha'bān regards him as belonging to the 2nd-3rd /8th-9th centuries. See The Social and Political Background of the 'Abbasid Revolution in Khurāsān, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard, pp.VIII-XIII, and E.I.<sup>2</sup>, , (Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī).
  3. Two editions of this work are in course of preparation, one by Dr. M.A. Sha'bān and the other by al-Maymanī.
  4. It is rather difficult to account for the assertion of Professor A.N. Kurat that many of Ibn A'tham's authorities are unknown. See Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. A'tham al-Kūfī's Kitāb al-Futūḥ and its importance concerning the Arab conquest in central Asia and the Khazārs, p.277, AU DTCFD, VII, 1949.

However, Ibn A'tham combined all these traditions in one single narrative, and for this reason, he did not refer to his authorities in the course of the book.

Kūfī's Futūḥ is one of the most important sources for the revolt of al-Mukhtār. He shows very clearly that it was the Southern tribes (Yemenites) who played the decisive role in the revolt, rather than the mawālī.<sup>1</sup> His account throws much light on the disputed matter of the relationship between Ibn al-Zubair and al-Mukhtār.<sup>2</sup> One should point out here that al-Futūḥ contains no mention whatsoever of the Khashabiyya, the Kaisāniyya and the "Kursī", which were so characteristic of al-Mukhtār's revolt: perhaps this is due to his sympathies towards the 'Alids and al-Mukhtār leading him to "hush up" the discrediting extremist wing of the movement. Al-Futūḥ is also one of the major sources for the history of the Arabs in Khurāsān during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, and provides useful material on such provinces as Armīnya, and on Arab-Byzantine relations, some of which cannot be found in the other sources.<sup>3</sup>

However, Ibn A'tham shows a strong 'Alid bias whenever the 'Alids are mentioned<sup>4</sup> in the events of 'Abd al-Malik's caliphate.

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1. Kūfī, I, fols. 246a-270b, and II, fols. 1a-29b.

2. Ibid., I, fols. 236b, 261b.

3. Ibid, I, fols. 245b; II, fols. 58a-60b, 72a-b, 116a-129a.

4. Ibid, I, fols. 187b, 190a-b, 193a-b, 204a, 207b, 213b, 220b-221b; II, fols. 12a, 20a, 29b, 31a, 56a-b.

Finally, his accounts reveal rather bitter feelings against al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>1</sup> as well as some measure of glorification of his tribe, Kinda.<sup>2</sup>

8. Abu 'Abdallah Muḥammad ibn 'Adbūs al-Jahshiyārī (d.331/942), the author of al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb.<sup>3</sup> This work, which mainly deals with administrative matters, contains valuable information on political affairs. Its importance for the reign of 'Abd al-Malik lies not only in the administrative account it provides, but also the information given on 'Aṣabiyya and on the policies of al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq; the latter reveals an anti-Ḥajjāj bias.<sup>4</sup> On the whole, Jahshiyārī's account is brief, and he does not mention his authorities in the period concerned.

9. Al-Mas'ūdī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain (d.345/956), a renowned historian and scholar of the fourth century. Out of the thirty five works which he claimed to have written, only Murūj al-Dhahab and Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf survive.<sup>5</sup> In his Murūj al-Dhahab, he expresses a strong

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1. Kūfī, II, fols. 53b-54a, 57b, 113b-115b.

2. Ibid, I, fol. 242b.

3. E. I.,<sup>2</sup> (Jahshiyārī).

4. Jahshiyārī, pp.42, 43.

5. It is doubtful that the published book entitled Akhbār al-Zamān wa mā Abādahu'l-Ḥadathān (Cairo 1938) is the same Akhbār al-Zamān as Mas'ūdī's: for not only do the contents of this published volume not agree with al-Mas'ūdī's references to his own work, but it also differs in its style from Mas'ūdī's. Another treatise ascribed to al-Mas'ūdī is lthbāt al-Waṣiyya lil'Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, published in Najaf by al-Muktaba al-Murtaḍawiyya. It is regretted that I was unable to get access to this work. See N.A. Dāwūd, Nash'at al-Shī'a al-Imāmiyya, Bibliography.

pro-ʿAlid sympathy. Masʿūdī's information on the ʿAlids is reported on the authority of men with Shīʿite inclinations.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in his assessment of ʿAbd al-Malik's personality, al-Masʿūdī quotes verbatim from al-Yaʿqūbī's essay on the caliph, entitled Mushākalat al-Nās Li zamānihim, without acknowledging his source.<sup>2</sup> In his lengthy chapter on al-Hajjāj, Masʿūdī portrays him most unfavourably;<sup>3</sup> here again, reports on the authority of men like al-Minqarī and ibn ʿĀʾisha, who are known to have had Shīʿite leanings.<sup>4</sup> One can also find in Masʿūdī's Murūj clear anti-Umayyad feelings. Examples of this are when he reports the death of al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, and his account of the battle of al-Ḥarra, and the death of Muʿāwiyah II.<sup>5</sup>

Masʿūdī seems to have been interested in anecdotes and legends current at the time, which he reports to us in his Murūj. This, rather than serving "to impair the trustworthiness of the accounts",<sup>6</sup> is more an indication of the social and intellectual life of some of the people of the time.

However, al-Masʿūdī in his Murūj provides us with valuable

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1. See Murūj, V, pp. 179, 184-5, 196, 219, 227-9.
  2. Compare Murūj, V, p. 210, and Mushākalat, p. 18.
  3. Murūj, V, pp. 288-360; p. 382.
  4. Ibid., V, pp. 326-8, 331-6, 338-9, 343; also pp. 290-302.
  5. Ibid., V, pp. 79-81, 167, 169.
  6. F. Omar, The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, p. 35. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1967.)

information on al-Mukhtār's relationships with Ibn al-Zubair; with both Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and Ibn 'Abbās; and with 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain.<sup>1</sup> This information, together with that given by Balādhurī<sup>2</sup>, helps us to a better understanding of these otherwise obscure proceedings. Another important point revealed in al-Murūj is the reason for the support given by southern Arabs to Marwān in the battle of Marj Rāhit, and also the treason of 'Umair ibn al-Ḥubāb in the battle of Khāzir.<sup>3</sup> This information throws much light on tribal conflicts during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān.

In Mas'ūdī's Tanbīh, which is a "resumé of his previous works", we find fresh and important information: the date of the battle of Khāzir, Ibn al-Ash'ath's adoption of the titles of al-Qaḥṭānī and Nāṣir al-Mu'minīn, the list of the "Kuttāb", "Ḥājibs", and Qādis at the end of the account of each caliph.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting that al-Mas'ūdī makes it clear in his Tanbīh that he had seen some Umayyad sources, which he criticised as being biased and anti-Ḥāshimite (Tālbids and 'Abbāsids).<sup>5</sup>

10. Kitāb al-Aghānī by Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain (d. 356/966-7), Arab historian, litterateur and poet.<sup>6</sup> Although this work

1. Murūj, V, pp. 170-3, 176-9, 184-190.

2. See Chapter II, p. 74 of this thesis.

3. Murūj, V, pp. 200-1, 223.

4. Tanbīh, pp. 313, 314.

5. Ibid., pp. 335, 336.

6. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī.)

primarily deals with the one hundred songs chosen by order of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, it gives abundant material on political, administrative and social life in the period concerned. Next to Balādhurī's Ansāb, Kitāb al-Aghānī is the most important source for the tribal feuds of 'Abd al-Malik's reign,<sup>1</sup> which he reports on the authority of al-Madā'inī, 'Umar ibn Shabba and Abū 'Ubaida. 'Abd al-Malik's court life and his attitude towards songs and wine are reported in the Kitāb al-Aghānī.<sup>2</sup> He gives information on political events, such as the war between 'Abd al-Malik and Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair;<sup>3</sup> and also useful facts on 'Abd al-Malik's governors in al-Ḥijāz and Khurāsān.<sup>4</sup> Abu'l-Faraj very often states his authorities, but as he is a Shī'ite,<sup>5</sup> some of his accounts should be considered with care, as, for instance, that on 'Abd al-Malik's attitude towards singing.<sup>6</sup>

11. The Christian (Syriac) sources.<sup>7</sup> These are all, with the exception of only two, late sources which repeat the accounts of the early Arab historians. Where they do more than repeat, in providing original information,

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1. Agh., VII, pp.176-7; XI, pp.57-63; XVII, pp.111-6.

2. See N. 'Akel, Studies in the Social History of the Umayyad Period, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1960), pp.306-316.

3. Agh., XVII, pp.161-4.

4. Ibid., III, pp.100, 102, 107, 110, 113, 123; vol.X, p.61; vol.XIII, p.56.

5. 'Akel, op. cit., pp.15-16; E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī).

6. Agh., II, pp.86-8. On the authenticity of this account, see Chapter I, p.62 of this thesis.

7. Dinoysius, Chronique de Denys de Tell Mahre, translated by J. B. Chabot, Paris, 1895; Sa'īd ibn Batrīq, al-Tārikh al-Majmū' =

their work is unreliable as far as the major political events of the time are concerned, since it is the product of "a minority community isolated from the courts of kings and princes"<sup>1</sup> by its political inferiority. Nevertheless, there are areas in which the Christian sources can prove useful, in matters concerning the administration of Christians in the Muslim world, especially their taxation (Jizya and Kharāj); as by-product of this, they give information on the general administrative practices of the caliphate. They are also useful sources for Arab-Byzantine relations. More especially for our period, they are useful in providing a non-hostile view of the Umayyads, to act as corrective to the more biased 'Abbāsīd sources.

12. Literary Works: the most important of these are the Dīwāns of poets such as Ibn Qais al-Ruqayyāt, A'sha Hamdān, Surāqa al-Bāriqī, al-Akḥṭal, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq. Next to these Dīwāns come Naqa'id Jarīr wa'l-Farazdaq and Naqa'id Jarīr wa'l-Akḥṭal. These poetical works which are contemporary with the events, are important in that they contain verses relating to many political events, such as the 'Aṣabiyya, the civil war between 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubair, the campaign against the Byzantines, the

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= 'Ala'l-Toḥqīq, Beirut, 1909; Ibn al-Muqaffa', Tarikh al-Baṭāriqā al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1943; Ibn al-'Ibrī, Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal, Beirut, 1890; idem, The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, ed. and trans. by E. A. Wallis Bridge, Oxford, 1932; Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. J. B. Chabot, Brussels, 1963; Theophanes, Chronographya, Migne, 1857.

1. J. B. Segal, Syriac Chronicles, p. 251, in Historians of the Middle East, ed. B. Lewis and M. P. Holt, Oxford, 1964; Noldeke, Zur Geschichte der Araber im 1. Jahrh. d. H. aus Syrischen Quellen, pp. 76-98, ZDMG, 29, 1876; idem, Zur Geschichte der Omaiden, pp. 683-91, ZDMG, 55, 1901.

Khārijite opposition and the revolt of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ash'ath.

They can be used to confirm the accounts of the historical sources.

13. Religious Literature (Heresiography):<sup>1</sup> most of these books are late and deal mainly with the sects, their origins and development. As most of them are written by Sunnī authors, concerned with the theological aspect of the sects, with examining their heresies and errors: thus they are biased sources. Even those written by Khārijite or Shī'ī authors are prejudiced against any sect other than their own.

However, they do contain sporadic historical information on the Khārijite wars, the origin of various sects such as al-Khashabiyya and al-Kaisāniyya, and their connection with the revolt of al-Mukhtār; they also tell us of the nature of the latter's support in Kūfa. But even so, these heresiographies are often confusing to use, since being late sources, they sometimes muddle the names of persons and places.

14. Coins and Inscriptions: the coins are important in providing confirmation for the written sources, as well as new information for the period

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1. Nawbakhtī, Firaq al-Shī'a, Istanbul, 1931, Najaf, 1959; al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, Istanbul, 1930; al-Mālātī, al-Tanbīh wa'l-Rad 'Alā Ahl al-Ahwa' wa'l-Bida', Istanbul, 1936; al-Baghdādī, al-Farq bain al-Firaq, Cairo, 1910; Ibn Hazm, al-Fiṣal Fi'l-Milal wa'l-Niḥal, Cairo, 1317-20; al-Shahrastānī, al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal; Leipzig, 1923, Cairo, 1951; Barrādī, al-Jawāhir al-Muntaqāt, Cairo, 1884; Shāmmakhī, Kitāb al-Siyar, Cairo, 1884.



in question; for example, that 'Abd al-Malik called himself Khalīfatu'llāh (the caliph of God)<sup>1</sup> on the coins he minted. This information cannot be found in the written sources. The fact that the Khārijite 'Aṭiyya ibn al-Aswad struck coins in Kirmān, is confirmed by the coins that survived from that year 72/691.<sup>2</sup>

The inscriptions on buildings provide important information on the date of construction, or restoration and the name of the caliph responsible. It is from the inscription on the Dome of the Rock that we know that 'Abd al-Malik was its original builder, since the date of the inscription survived to prove false the attempt to credit it to the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn.

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1. Curiel, *Arabo-Sassanids Money*, VIII, p.328, JURN, 6<sup>e</sup> series, 1966.
  2. Miles, *Some New Light on the History of Kirman*, p.90, WOI, 1959.

## CHAPTER I

### THE LEGACY OF THE EARLY YEARS

There is much information in the sources, particularly in the late ones, on the early life of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān; but since much of this information is repeated from legends and myths, it is difficult to form a very satisfactory idea of his personality or of how his early life influenced his later policy on becoming caliph. Yet only by adopting a critical and analytical approach to the sources, is it possible to clarify fact from fiction.

According to one account<sup>1</sup> he was born in the year 23/643; according to another,<sup>2</sup> it was 26/646. As for the month, it is agreed on as being Ramaḍān, though no exact day is given. His birth-place is mentioned by Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt as the house (Dār) of his father Marwān in Medīna.<sup>3</sup> It is said that he was prematurely born, which led some of his critics to give this assertion evil connotations, implying the weakness of

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.293; Ansāb, XI, p.264; Ṭab., II, p.1173 (citing Madā’inī); Ghurār, fols. 81-82; ‘lqd, IV, pp.399, 421; ‘Asākir, X, fol. 254a; Tahdhīb, IV, p.423 (quoting Khalīfa). However, another account in Ṭab., I, p.2671, gives the year 22.
  2. Sa‘d, V, p.166; Ṭab., II, p.1173 (citing Wāqidī); Kāmil, IV, p.411; ‘Asākir, X, fol. 254a; Tahdhīb, VI, p.423 (quoting Ibn Sa‘d); Suyūfī, p.143.
  3. Tārīkh, I, p.293.

his claim, vis-a-vis his rival, for the Caliphate.<sup>1</sup> His father was the caliph Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abi'l-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayya ibn ʿAbd Shams ibn ʿAbd Manāf ibn Quṣayy.<sup>2</sup> His mother was ʿĀ'isha bint Mu'āwiya ibn al-Mughīra ibn Abi'l-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayya ibn ʿAbd Shams ibn ʿAbd Manāf.<sup>3</sup> His "Kunya" was Abu'l-Walīd, his favourite son and successor.<sup>4</sup> Since the ʿAbbāsids were the first to adopt regnal titles, ʿAbd al-Malik like the rest of the Umayyad caliphs had no title, "Leqab". Some late historians have ascribed the practice to the Umayyad caliphs and even aduced specific titles to them.<sup>5</sup> However, ʿAbd al-Malik was called, as a nickname, "the one who squeezes water from a stone"

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1. Bayān, I, p. 177; Absāb, XI, p. 152; Ghurar, fol. 82; ʿIqd, IV, pp. 31-32; Šināʿ atain, pp. 15-16; Khulafāʾ, II, fol. 97b; ʿAsākir, X, fol. 163a; Kāmil, IV, p. 158; Tahdhīb, VI, p. 423; Suyūṭī, p. 144.
  2. Saʿd, V, p. 165; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, p. 240; Ansāb, XI, p. 151; Tab., II, p. 1173; ʿIqd, IV, p. 398; Baṭrīq, VII, p. 39; ʿAsākir, X, fol. 252b; Kāmil, IV, p. 314; Bidāya, IX, p. 16; Ināfa, I, p. 126; Dhahab, p. 27; Tahdhīb, VI, p. 422; Suyūṭī, p. 134.
  3. Saʿd, V, p. 165; Zubairī, p. 399; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, p. 240; Bakkār, p. 421; Ansāb, XI, p. 151; Yaʿqūbī, II, p. 320; Tab., II, p. 1173; ʿIqd, IV, p. 399; Baṭrīq, VII, p. 39; Tanbīh, p. 312; Khulafāʾ, II, fol. 97b.; Jamharat, p. 80; Kāmil, IV, p. 413; Bidāya, IX, p. 62; Ināfa, I, p. 126; Tahdhīb, VI, p. 423.
  4. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, p. 240; Maʿārif, p. 155; Tab., II, p. 1173; ʿIqd, IV, p. 398; Tanbīh, p. 312; Khulafāʾ, II, fol. 97a; ʿAsākir, X, fol. 252b; Kāmil, IV, p. 413; Bidāya, IX, p. 61; Tahdhīb, VI, p. 422.
  5. Tanbīh, pp. 335-7; Mafāṭīh, p. 105; Šubh, V, p. 477ff.; Ināfa, I, p. 22; Some modern writers have been misled by this point and ascribed to ʿAbd al-Malik the title of al-Muwaffaq bi Amir'lāh. See Abu'l-Naṣr, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, p. 252, Beirut, 1962.

(Rashīd al-Ḥajar), on the grounds of his alleged miserliness.<sup>1</sup> There is reason for thinking that such an allegation was unfounded since there was a tendency among Muslim historians to call 'miser', any caliph who, through efficiency, kept a tight rein on expenditure. His son the Caliph Hishām and the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr were also called mean where objective sources would describe them as efficient financiers. The generous way in which 'Abd al-Malik rewarded victorious generals returning from campaigns, and patronized poets and religious men, shows that he did not have that aversion to parting with money which is the sign of a mean man.<sup>2</sup> And could it be that 'Abd al-Malik's opponents called him 'miser' to counter his own accusation of Ibn al-Zubair: "he has every qualification for a caliph were it not for his miserliness"?<sup>3</sup>

When he was only ten years old he witnessed the storming of the house of the Caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in Medīna, in which the caliph

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1. Maʿārif, p.155; Ansāb, XI, p.152 (citing Wāqidī); Yaʿqūbī, II, p.335; Mushākalat al-Nās li Zamānihim, p.18; Murūj, V, p.210; Badʿ, VI, p.26; Agh., XV, p.158; Khulafāʾ, II, fol. 97b; Kāmil, IV, p.415; Sharḥ, I, p.53, Nihāya, III, p.315; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.20; Suyūṭī, p.154.
  2. Saʿd, IV, p.40, V, p.171 (citing Wāqidī); pp.171-2; Maḥāsin, pp.9-10; Ansāb, XI, pp.167-8 (citing 'Awāna); 'Iqd', I, pp.294-5; pp.360-1; Murūj, p.253, pp.380-1; Agh., VIII, pp.29-30 (citing al-Zubair ibn Bakkār); 'Asākir, VII, p.375.
  3. Ansāb, XI, p.18 (citing Maddʿini); Yaʿqūbī, II, p.327; Ṭab., II, p.1176.

was killed.<sup>1</sup> No wonder that this event had a lasting effect on him, as clearly shown in the distrust expressed in his address to the people of Medīna after he became caliph.<sup>2</sup> This early mistrust was further aggravated by the attitude of the people of Medīna towards the Umayyads in general. In the year 63/682, the Medinese expelled the Umayyads from their city and revolted against the Caliph Yazīd I.<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Malik lived through this event and was one of those expelled. The Medinese hostile attitude reached its culmination in the support they gave to Ibn al-Zubair against 'Abd al-Malik himself. Wellhausen<sup>4</sup> rightly pointed out that 'Abd al-Malik seems to have borne this history of anti-Umayyad feeling in Medīna in mind in his choice of governors for the city.

When the Caliph 'Uthmān appointed his father 'Kātib' in Medīna,

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1. Sa'd, V, p. 166; Bayān, II, p. 171 (citing Madā'inī); Ansāb, XI, p. 190 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p. 1173 (citing Waqidī); Bidāya, IX, p. 62.
  2. Sa'd, V, p. 172 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 270; Ansāb, XI, pp. 177-8, Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 326-7; Murūj, V, pp. 281-2; Agh., IV, p. 53 (citing al-Zubair, ibn Bakkār); Kāmil, IV, p. 317; Bidāya, IX, p. 64.
  3. Sa'd, V, p. 166 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 228; Imāma, I, pp. 172-3; Ansāb, V, pp. 126-7 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, pp. 405-6 (citing Abū Mīkhnaf); Agh., I, pp. 13-4 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, pp. 95-6; pp. 119-20; Bidāya, IX, p. 63.
  4. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p. 215, Calcutta, 1927, and Beirut, 1963.

‘Abd al-Malik acted as his secretary in the Dīwān of al-Medīna.<sup>1</sup> As governor of al-Baḥrain for the Caliph ‘Uthmān, Marwān appointed his son, ‘Abd al-Malik to the governorship of Hajar.<sup>2</sup>

Under Mu‘āwīya, ‘Abd al-Malik continued to hold offices. When Zaid ibn Thābit died, ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded him as ‘Kātib’ of the Dīwān of al-Medīna.<sup>3</sup> In the year 42/662, he was at the head of the troops of Medīna in the caliph's naval campaign against the Byzantines, in which he distinguished himself.<sup>4</sup>

During the caliphate of Yazīd I, he became more involved in the politics of the time: in the year 61/680 the Caliph Yazīd I tried to reconcile Ibn al-Zubair and the people of al-Ḥijāz by sending a mission headed by Ibn ‘Idāh al-Ash‘arī. In Medīna on their way to Mecca, they met Marwān,

1. Tab., II, p.837; ‘Iqd, IV, p.164; Khulafā’, II, fol. 10a.
2. Ma’ārif, p.155; Ansāb, XI, p.152 (citing Wāqidī); Bad’, VI, p.26.
3. Ma’ārif, p.155; Ansāb, XI, p.152 (citing Wāqidī); Bad’, VI, p.26.
4. Sa’d, V, p.166; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārikh, I, p.196 (who gives the year 50); Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam, Futūḥ Ifrīqiya wa’l-Andalus, pp.56-58; Agh., XII, p.95 (citing ‘Umar b. Shabba); Mu‘jam, III, pp.107-8; Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullat al-Sayarā’, p.383; Bidāya, IX, p.63 (quoting Khalīfa). The date given by Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam and Ibn al-Abbār is 34. This seems unconvincing since at this time he would be only eleven years old.

who sent his two sons ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz with them.

‘Abd al-Malik and his brother on their father's instructions recited

certain verses in front of Ibn al-Zubair encouraging him to be more

firm and not to yield to the demands of Yazīd.<sup>1</sup> Marwān was at this

time supporting Ibn al-Zubair against Yazīd, not through any genuine

friendship, but as an expression of his discontent at Mu‘āwīya's intro-

duction of the hereditary principle, so resented by the ‘Arabs.<sup>2</sup> When

Yazīd's negotiations with Ibn al-Zubair and the people of al-Hijāz

failed, the Umayyads were expelled from Medīna by the rebels; ‘Abd al-

Malik had to leave the town with his father.<sup>3</sup> On their way, they met

the Syrian army which Yazīd had sent against Ibn al-Zubair, under the

command of Muslim ibn ‘Uqba al-Murri. Marwān and his son ‘Abd al-

Malik joined the Syrian army and came back to Medīna. When Muslim

ibn ‘Uqba asked for information concerning the position of the town and

its defences, ‘Abd al-Malik gave him the exact details required, for which

he received the admiration and the respect of the leader.<sup>4</sup> This was followed

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1. Tab., II, pp.397-8 (citing al-Zuhri); Khulafā’, II, fol. 88a; Bidāya, VIII, p.212; E. I.,<sup>2</sup> (al-Ḥarra). W. Muir says that ‘Abd al-Malik accompanied his father Marwān in the negotiations with Ibn al-Zubair in this mission in Mecca; see The Caliphate, p.355 Beirut, 1963. However, it should be remarked here that there is no evidence that Marwān had taken direct part in these negotiations.

2. ‘Uyūn, I, p.277.

3. Sa’d, V, pp.166-7 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.228; Ansāb, V, pp.126-7 (citing Madā’inī); Tab., II, pp.405-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

4. Sa’d, V, pp.166-7 (citing Wāqidī); Tab., II, pp.410-12 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Khulafā’, II, fol. 89a; Kāmil, IV, pp.95-6; Fakhrī, p.112.

by the battle of al-Ḥarra, Dhul-Ḥajja 63/August 683, which ended in a complete defeat for the Medinese.

During the short Caliphate of his father Marwān, (64-65/683-684), 'Abd al-Malik held two offices, at least nominally. Al-Mada'īnī says that he received the governorship of Palestine, but he remained in Damascus, and sent Rawḥ ibn Zūnba' al-Judhāmī as his deputy there.<sup>1</sup> In the year 65/684, when his father Marwān left Damascus and went to wrest Egypt from the control of Ibn al-Zubair, 'Abd al-Malik was his deputy in the capital.<sup>2</sup> All these references to his early office-holding suggest that the choice of 'Abd al-Malik to succeed to the caliphate from among his brothers was because of his political ability and his knowledge of state-craft and provincial administration. His gradual advance in holding important posts at quite an early age, by caliphs other than his father, shows this political flair, and his later successes also bear witness to his abilities. During the reigns of Mu'āwiya and his son Yazīd, stories about 'Abd al-Malik's likelihood of succession to the throne have been told to us. Most of these stories are either Umayyad propaganda or in the form of myths, found mainly in the late sources; in both cases, their authenticity is suspect. To mention but some, there is a story which makes al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra predict 'Abd al-Malik's future as caliph because of his piety and family connections.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Anṣāb, V, pp. 149-50.

2. Ibid., V, pp. 148-49.

3. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, pp. 257-8 (citing Ibn 'Ayyāsh).



The Caliph 'Uthmān according to another account, is supposed to have put his head cloak (burnuṣ) over the boy's head, saying that he could see Abu'l-'Āṣ reborn in 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the Caliph Yazīd is recorded as having prophesied that 'Abd al-Malik would be caliph.<sup>2</sup>

In the same way, we also find in the sources statements and sayings telling of 'Abd al-Malik's ability and strong personality. In his list of men claimed by the Umayyads as rare in their "Ra'y" and "Tadbīr" (management), al-Jāhīz included 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>3</sup> Al-Madā'inī says that though Mu'āwīya was the more flexible as a politician (aḥlam), yet 'Abd al-Malik was the more resolute (aḥzam).<sup>4</sup> 'Abd al-Malik is also considered among the three statesmen of the Umayyad dynasty, together with Mu'āwīya and Hishām.<sup>5</sup> However, the proof of 'Abd al-Malik's abilities is not to be found in these stories, but by examining his achievements in the political and administrative fields.

To turn now to 'Abd al-Malik's accession to the throne, one should go back to the circumstances of his father's succession, since these are crucial to an understanding both of 'Abd al-Malik's accession and of such later developments as the revolt of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-Ashdaq.<sup>6</sup> Following the

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1. Ansāb, V, p.140, (citing 'Awānū).

2. Ibid., XI, pp.161-2 (citing Madā'inī); Futuh, p.35 (citing Madā'inī); Murūj, V, pp.155-6.

3. Rasā'il, p.93 (ed. Sandūbī).

4. 'Iqd, IV, p.401.

5. Murūj, V, p.497 (citing Madā'inī and al-Haytham).

6. See Chapter IV, p.224 ff.

death of Caliph Yazīd I, and according to the agreement reached at al-Jābiya between the leaders of the Umayyad family and their supporters, Marwān was proclaimed caliph on the condition that his successors would be Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwīya and 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-Ashdaq.<sup>1</sup> After the battle of Marj Rāhit (64/683) between Marwān and the supporters of Ibn al-Zubair, which ended with a complete defeat for the latter, Marwān realised that he had gained his title by right of conquest. Consequently, he planned to exclude Khālīd and 'Amr from the succession. Khālīd was as yet too young to be caliph, and Marwān further obstructed his chances of succession by making a politic marriage with Khālīd's mother.<sup>2</sup> In the same year he died, at the age of 63, having meanwhile nominated his son 'Abd al-Malik to succeed him, with his second son 'Abd al-'Azīz next in line of succession; this was in answer to the claims of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd that he would be the next caliph, because of the agreement of al-Jābiya.<sup>3</sup> The new succession was declared in the year 65/684, and was made effective by the help of the Kalbite leader Ḥassān ibn Mālīk ibn Baḥdal<sup>4</sup> and people paid

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1. Imāma, II, pp. 12-3; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 304-5; Ṭab., II, p. 476 (citing 'Awāna).
  2. Ṭab., II, p. 577 (citing Wāqidī), pp. 577-8; Chejne, Succession to the Rule in Islam, p. 35, Lahore, 1960.
  3. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 257, Imāma, II, p. 13; Ansāb, V, pp. 149-50 (citing Madā'ini); XI, pp. 164-5 (citing Madā'ini); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 306; Ṭab., II, p. 576 (citing 'Awāna); Murūj, V, pp. 205-6; Kāmil, IV, pp. 156-7; Bidāya, VIII, pp. 255, 260; IX, p. 62; Suyūṭī, p. 143; Chejne, op. cit., pp. 31-2.
  4. Ṭab., II, p. 576 (citing 'Awāna).

homage to the nominees as such. It seems that Marwān had seen in this agreement the safest way to keep the caliphate in his line and to put an end to the rivalry of the many claimants to the throne among the Umayyads themselves.<sup>1</sup> He had learned his lesson from what followed the death of Mu'āwīya II.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, 'Amr ibn Sa'īd found in it a breach of oath and - as we shall see - rebelled against 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>3</sup> As for the date of 'Abd al-Malik's succession, it is almost unanimously given as Ramaḍān 65/April 685.<sup>4</sup> His death has also been unanimously agreed on as occurring in Shawwāl 86/October 705,<sup>5</sup> so that he reigned for twenty one years.

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1. Ansāb, V, pp. 149-50 (citing Madā'inī); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 306; Tab., II, p. 576. (citing 'Awāna); Kāmil, IV, p. 156.
  2. Dūrī, Muqadima fī Tārīkh Ṣadr al-Islām, p. 67, Beirut, 1961.
  3. See Chapter IV, p. 224ff.
  4. Sa'd, V, p. 30; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 257; Ma'ārīf, p. 155; Ansāb, V, p. 159 (citing al-Haytham); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 321; Tab., II, p. 577; Ghurār, fol. 79; 'Iqd, IV, p. 399; Baṭrīq, VII, p. 39; Murūj, V, p. 209; Kindī, I, pp. 48-9; Bad', VI, p. 26; Khulafā', II, fol. 97a; Kāmil, IV, p. 158; 'Asākir, X, fol. 257; 'Ibrī, p. 193; Fakhrī, p. 110; Mukhtaṣar, I, p. 205; Bidāya, VIII, p. 260; Ināfa, I, p. 127; Dhahab, p. 27; Shadharāt, I, p. 73. However, Dīnawarī mentions the year 66, (Akhbār, p. 294); Balādhurī gives Rabi'ī (Ansāb, XI, p. 151); Mas'ūdī gives Rajab (Tanbīh, p. 312).
  5. Sa'd, V, pp. 174-5 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 293; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, op. cit., p. 86; Ma'ārīf, p. 156; Ansāb, XI, pp. 152-264; Dīnawarī, p. 328; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 335; Tab., II, p. 1172, (citing Wāqidī and Abū Ma'shar), 1173 (citing Madā'inī); Ghurār, fols. 79-80; 'Iqd, IV, p. 420; Tanbīh, p. 316; Murūj, V, p. 210; Kindī, II, p. 58; Bad', VI, p. 27; Khulafā', fol. 97b; 'Asākir, X, fols. 257a, 266a; Kāmil, IV, p. 411; 'Ibrī, p. 194; Mukhtaṣar, I, p. 209; Dhahabī, III, p. 236; Bidāya, IX, pp. 68-9; 'Ibrī, III, p. 128; Ināfa, I, p. 128; Tahdhīb, VI, p. 423; Suyūṭī, p. 144; Shadharāt, I, p. 97.

It is generally accepted that ‘Abd al-Malik during his early life was very pious, indulged little in pleasure, and showed a deep interest in religious studies. In Medīna where he was born and reared, there were two intellectual climates. The first was that of Qur’ānic study, and more especially, study of the Ḥadīth. The second was the field of poetry, songs and music. He chose the former and thus was educated in a religious atmosphere. Although there is much evidence and information of ‘Abd al-Malik's early piety, leaving no doubt that he did display great interest in religion, yet here again one should be aware of myths or propaganda. An example of such is the account in Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt's Tārīkh,<sup>1</sup> on the authority of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, (first Zubairid and then Umayyad sympathiser), which depicts ‘Abd al-Malik as one of the Qurra’ (Readers of the Qur’ān). Another is the account of Abu’l-Yaḥyā reported by Balādhurī, which says that ‘Abd al-Malik took great pains to be sure that the money on his privy purse, used for paying the dowries of his wives, did not come from any corrupt practices or unjust extortion.<sup>2</sup> More reliable seems the account of Ibn Sa’d, that ‘Abd al-Malik used to sit with theologians and men of religion who taught him the tradition of the Prophet, though he paid little attention to narrating what he learnt.<sup>3</sup>

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1. I, p.258.

2. Ansāb, XI, p.195.

3. Sa’d, V, p.167.

The author of al-Imāma wa'l Siyāsa states that 'Abd al-Malik was known to have been truthful, of good reputation, and knowledgeable and strict in his religion.<sup>1</sup> Wāqidī<sup>2</sup> regards him as a Muḥaddith (Traditionist), on the authority of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Abū Huraira and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. We are also told that prior to his caliphate he was so involved in praying and reciting the Qur'ān in the Mosque of Medīna, that he was nicknamed "the pigeon of the mosque" (Ḥamāmat al-Masjid).<sup>3</sup> It is also reported that, because of his piety and scrupulousness, 'Abd al-Malik did not accompany his father in the battle of Marj Rāḥit, 64/683.<sup>4</sup> This account is attested by the fact that we do not hear any account of him in this battle, while the name of his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz is occasionally reported.<sup>5</sup> It is against this religious background that one might proceed to examine 'Abd al-Malik's policies after he became caliph.

As is the case with almost all the able and efficient caliphs, the hostile sources tend to under-emphasise 'Abd al-Malik's significant achievements and stress any minor events that they can use to discredit him.

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1. Imāma, II, p.13.
  2. Ansāb, XI, p.152.
  3. Ibid., XI, p.163; lqd, II, p.350; Khulafā', II, fol. 97a; Fakhrī, p.110; Nuwairī, IV, p.115.
  4. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wa'l-Akḥḥal, p.21; Ansāb, XI, p.136 (citing al-Haytham ibn 'Adī).
  5. Tab., II, p.279 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).

He was accused of being a mean, treacherous and blood-thirsty person. Given the fact that his religious background and early piety was well established, no wonder therefore that the sources tried to depict him as having a complete change of face after becoming a caliph, turning his back on his early religious way of life. Modern scholars, such as Wellhausen for example, accept this interpretation; and Wellhausen says "certainly from that time onwards, he subordinated everything to policy..."<sup>1</sup> It is true that 'Abd al-Malik at times was forced to act according to the political situation in which he found himself, and this sometimes seems to conflict with his previous religious ideals, but this must not be overstressed. I shall try here to examine how far 'Abd al-Malik's actions during his caliphate were coloured by his religious background and his continuing religious faith.

A crucial point to be discussed is the siege of Mecca and the storming of al-Ka'ba, because these were used most to discredit him—especially since 'Abd al-Malik himself had previously been so shocked when Mecca was besieged and the Ka'ba was stormed under an earlier caliph.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Cp. cit., p.215.

2. Sa'd, V, p.167; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.224; Ansāb, V, p.360 (citing Wāqidī); XI, p.43 (citing Wāqidī); p.164 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p.95; Fakhrī, p.110; Suyūṭī, p.145.

There is no doubt that the storming of al-Ka'ba did take place and that 'Abd al-Malik did consent to it, but it seems this can still be reconciled to his religious beliefs. Firstly, there is evidence that he was extremely unwilling to send an army to the holy places of Mecca and Medīna. It is reported<sup>1</sup> that when al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was dispatched by 'Abd al-Malik at the head of a Syrian army against 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair, he made al-Ṭā'if and not Mecca his residence, on the caliph's orders. Al-Balādhurī<sup>2</sup> makes this point even clearer, stating that al-Ḥajjāj did not approach Medīna nor the road leading to it. He took the way of al-Rabadha on his way to al-Ṭā'if. Ṭabarī says that al-Ḥajjāj went by the way of Iraq, deliberately avoiding Medīna and the Medīna road. This last piece of information is also repeated by Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>4</sup>

It is also interesting to mention here what instructions 'Abd al-Malik gave al-Ḥajjāj on sending him to al-Ḥijāz to fight 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair. According to Balādhurī and Ibn A'tham,<sup>5</sup> al-Haytham ibn al-Aswad

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1. Imāma, II, p. 24; Dīnawarī, p. 319; Kūfī, II, fol. 52b; lqd, IX, p. 414; Murūj, V, p. 254.

2. Ansāb, V, p. 357 (citing Wāqidī); XI, p. 38 (citing Wāqidī).

3. Ṭab, II, p. 829 (citing Wāqidī).

4. Kāmil, IV, p. 284.

5. Ansāb, V, pp. 357-8 (citing 'Awāna); XI, pp. 39-40 (citing 'Awāna); Kūfī, II, fols. 52b-53a.

al-Nakha<sup>ḥ</sup> previously came to 'Abd al-Malik and said, "O commander of the faithful, order this Thaqifite youth (Ghulām) to respect the Ka'ba, not to desecrate its sanctity, nor to touch a single stone of its sacred walls, nor to disturb even the birds that roost there; order him only to block the mountain passes (Shi'āb) and the tunnels (Anfāq) to Mecca, to isolate Ibn al-Zubair until either he dies of hunger or leaves Mecca dethroned".

'Abd al-Malik acted on this advice on his orders to al-Ḥajjāj, instructing him to avoid the shrine (al-Ḥaram) and to reside in al-Ṭā'if. These instructions show the respect the caliph had for the holy shrine.

This avoidance of the holy places by 'Abd al-Malik's armies has been interpreted as a tactical move, but this view is not borne out by the facts. For 'Abd al-Malik had already sent Ṭāriq ibn 'Amr and ordered him to station somewhere between Āyla and Wādī'l-Qura, with the instructions to check the activities of Ibn al-Zubair's governors, to protect the land lying between his camp and Syria, and finally, to cope with any situation that might develop.<sup>1</sup> Would it not be more advantageous, from the military point of view, for al-Ḥajjāj to join Ṭāriq ibn 'Amr, to re-inforce his army and use Medīna as a base from which he could advance against Ibn-al-Zubair? This is almost exactly what happened later, when Ṭāriq ibn 'Amr was given the orders to enter Medīna, to drive out the governor of

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1. Ansāb, V, p.356; XI, p.36; 'Asākir, VII, p.40 (citing Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt & Ibn Sa'd); Kāmil, IV, p.284; 'Ibar, III, pp.84-5.



Ibn al-Zubair and to advance from there towards Mecca to join al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>1</sup>

The question this provokes is, why 'Abd al-Malik gave such orders a year later when he was not prepared to do so earlier, when it was equally strategic for him to advance from Medīna on Mecca? Could the answer be that 'Abd al-Malik by this time was aware that 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair was exploiting the sanctity of the holy cities for political ends, banking on the fact that 'Abd al-Malik could not attack them without provoking Muslim reaction? And also 'Abd al-Malik realized that 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair's occupation of the holy shrine was threatening to divide the unity of Islām, since 'Abd al-Malik's supporters were prevented from performing pilgrimage, and even more fundamentally, since it is impossible to have two caliphs in Islam. In this light we can say that whereas religious motivations originally prevented 'Abd al-Malik from attacking Medīna or Mecca, eventually they very well have led him on to such an attack.

Turning now to the actual event of the storming of al-Ka'ba, religious motives can even here be traced in 'Abd al-Malik's action. Having reconciled himself to the political and religious necessity of besieging 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair's stronghold, it appears that, in giving his orders, to al-Ḥajjāj to storm the Ka'ba, he took into consideration that part of the building which was not in existence during the Prophet's lifetime, and

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1. Sa'd, V, p.169 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p.265; Ansāb, V, p.357 (citing Wāqidī); XI, p.42 (citing Wāqidī); Quḍāt, I, p.124; Tab., II, p.830 (citing Wāqidī); Kāmil, IV, pp.284-5.

therefore not traditionally sacred, having been built by his rival Ibn al-Zubair. Evidence supporting the view that 'Abd al-Malik respected the original building appears in the account of the fourth century geographer Muqāddisī,<sup>1</sup> a native of Jerusalem. He reports that "When al-Ḥajjāj came to Mecca, Ibn al-Zubair took refuge in the shrine (Ḥaram). Consequently, al-Ḥajjāj ordered a catapult to be set up on the mount of Abū Qubais, which was to storm only that additional part of the shrine which Ibn al-Zubair had built. The men in charge of the catapult followed this instruction and stormed that part of the building known as al-Ḥaṭīm".

This same information we find in the book of another geographer, Yāqūt,<sup>2</sup> who seems to have received it from Muqāddisī's book; but this, however, does not reduce the importance of this report, even if it does not confirm it.

It is very significant that immediately after 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair was killed, 'Abd al-Malik ordered al-Ḥajjāj to tear down all the innovations to al-Ka'ba built by Ibn al-Zubair, and to restore the original form of the building as it stood in the lifetime of the Prophet.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Muqāddisī, pp.74-5.

2. Mu'jam, IV, p.284.

3. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.268; Azraqī, I, p.137; Ma'ārif, p.156; Futūḥ, pp.26-7; Ansāb, XI, pp.67-8 (citing Wāqidī); Dīnawarī, I, p.296, Ya'qūbī, II, p.325; Hamadānī, p.20; A'lāq, p.30; Tab., II, p.854; Kūfī, II, fol. 55b; Murūj, V, pp.192-4; Mu'jam, IV, p.284; Kāmil, IV, p.296; Mir'at, VI, fol. 8a; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.208; Dhahabī, II, p.365; III, p.115; Bidāya, IX, pp. 2-3; Ibar, III, pp.88-9; Muqadima, pp. 623-5.

The poet Jarīr wrote of this:- "You restored the house of God as it was at the time of the Prophet, you corrected what the sons of al-Zubair had corrupted."<sup>1</sup>

Another example of 'Abd al-Malik's care for religion is his action in building the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra). There is no doubt that 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan was its builder, and the attempt to credit it to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn could not disguise this, since the date of erection escaped the alteration; it stands a firm witness to 'Abd al-Malik as its original builder.

According to a statement in Ya'qūbī's Tāīkh, repeated by Sa'īd ibn Batrīq, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr,<sup>2</sup> the reason for the erection of the Dome of the Rock was 'Abd al-Malik's attempt to keep the Syrians at home in order not to be won by his political rival 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair in Mecca. The latter tried to utilize the obligation of pilgrimage to defame and slander 'Abd al-Malik and the Umayyads. When the people complained at being prevented from performing their religious duty, 'Abd al-Malik invoked the tradition which permits the pilgrimage to the Aqṣā Mosque, on the authority of al-Zuhri. Goldziher<sup>3</sup> accepted this statement, and maintained that all the traditions, whether in favour or not, of

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1. Naqā'id, I, p.486. رجعت لبيت الله محمد بن عبد الله : واصبحت مالا من الجبابرة
  2. Ya'qūbī, II, p.311; Batrīq, VII, p.39; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 1b; Bidāya, VIII, p.280.
  3. Muhammedanisch Studien, II, pp.35-7, Halle, 1890.

the religious importance of Jerusalem were no more than weapons in the war between 'Abd al-Malik and his rival Ibn al-Zubair. Wellhausen refers to the erection of the Dome of the Rock and says that 'Abd al-Malik was trying to put Jerusalem in the place of Mecca, a plan he abandoned as soon as he overcame his rival.<sup>1</sup> Hitti follows the same line and accepts the view that the aim was to divert the pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The critical study of Goitein has shown that Ya'qūbī's report is not trustworthy, because of his Shī'ite leanings; and that the assertion that 'Abd al-Malik tried to divert the pilgrimage from Mecca to Jerusalem is not supported by third century Muslim historians.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as proved by J.W. Hirschberg, the traditions concerning Jerusalem did not originate in 'Abd al-Malik's time, but went back to an earlier date, since beliefs and legends of the sanctity of Jerusalem were current among the inhabitants of Palestine and Syria.<sup>4</sup> Al-Zuhri, on whose authority 'Abd al-Malik is alleged to have invoked the tradition permitting pilgrimage to Jerusalem, appears to have been at this time

1. op. cit., p.214.
2. History of the Arabs, p.220, New York, 1964.
3. The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock, p.104, JAOS, 70, 1950, idem. Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, pp.136-7, Leiden, 1966.
4. The Sources of Muslim Traditions Concerning Jerusalem, p.317, RO, XVII, 1953.

very young and unknown to the caliph or to the inhabitants of Syria generally.<sup>1</sup>

Since Syria was an ex-Byzantine province, there is no doubt that the Muslims there had seen the imperial Byzantine monuments, for example, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and possibly they were very highly impressed by them. Therefore, the erection of the Dome of the Rock can be interpreted as showing 'Abd al-Malik's consideration for the feelings of his Syrian subjects and their wish to emulate, to the glory of Islām, the religious monuments they saw around them.<sup>2</sup> That the Dome of the Rock was inspired by religious motives appears to be confirmed by the fact that it continued to be one of the most exalted holy places in Islām after Mecca and Medīna, even after 'Abd al-Malik had overcome his political rival 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair. In the light of this, it would seem unlikely that 'Abd al-Malik would ever have thought of substituting Jerusalem for Mecca; since each of them has its special importance in the eyes of Muslims.

Another example of 'Abd al-Malik trying to extend the glory of Islām through building in Syria is his attempt to add the Church of St. John

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1. Dūrī, al-Zuhri, pp. 10-11, BSOAS, XIX, 1957; Nash'at 'Ilm al-Tārikh 'Inda'l-'Arab, p. 99.

2. Muqāddisī, p. 159; Goitein, op. cit., p. 108; Lambert, Les Origines de la Mosquée et L'Architecture Religieuse des Omeiyades, p. 61, SI, VI, 1956; M. S. Briggs, Architecture, p. 160, in The Legacy of Islām, ed. by Th. Arnold & Guillaume, London, 1960; H. A. R. Gibb, Studies on the Civilization of Islam, p. 51, London, 1962.

in Damsacus to the mosque beside it.<sup>1</sup> He failed to achieve this, but the attempt alone gave him the support of the pious men and increased his popularity.

We can also trace religious influence in some aspects of 'Abd al-Malik's foreign policy: as soon as he was secure enough at home to turn his attention to an aggressive foreign policy, he continued the previous struggle with the Byzantines, by waging the Jihād against the infidels almost every year.<sup>2</sup> This served the double purpose of, on the one hand fulfilling the most important religious duty of the caliph in the eyes of Muslims and, on the other hand, keeping the Syrian army up to the mark through its continual experience of war.

Balādhurī<sup>3</sup> informs us that 'Abd al-Malik also wished his sons to be as interested in the Qur'ān and Traditions as he was himself; when he found the tradition of the campaigns of the Prophet in the form of a book in the hands of some of his sons, he ordered it to be burnt and advised his sons to read the Qur'ān, and to know the Sunna of the Prophet in order to act in accordance with it.

Other accounts as well as these show that contrary to his critics' accusations, he did not lose his interest in religious studies and theological

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1. Futūḥ, p.125; Baṭrīq, VII, p.39; Wellhausen, op. cit., p.216.

2. Akḥṭal, Dīwān, pp.20-21; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, pp.344-80.

3. Ansāb, XI, p.172 (citing al-Zuhrī).

questions on becoming caliph, nor did he lose contact with theologians and men of religion.<sup>1</sup> He surrounded himself with a group of theologians including such men as Qabīṣa ibn Dhu'aib, 'Urwa ibn al-Zubair, Rajā' ibn Haywa, al-Sha'bī, and others. To those who were outside Damascus in Medīna he continued to send handsome presents and gifts.<sup>2</sup> He also carried on a correspondence with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, a famous theologian of the time, about theological questions, such as free will and predestination.<sup>3</sup> We are also told<sup>4</sup> that in one of 'Abd al-Malik's performances of pilgrimage, he sent for the eldest Sheikh from Khuzā'a, another Sheikh from Quraish and a third from Banū Tamīm, and ordered them to renew the "Anṣāb" of al-Ḥaram, following the practice of the Prophet and his companions, like the caliphs 'Umar I, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and Mu'āwiya I.

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1. Tab., I, p.1104 (citing Wāqidī); p.1180, 1284, 1634, 1770.
  2. Sa'd, V, ii, p.40, p.171 (citing Wāqidī); Ma'ārif, pp.197-8.
  3. Risālat Mukātabāt 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān wa'l Ḥasan ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, fols, 1-13; Ritter, Studies Zur Geschichte der Islamischen Formigkeit, pp.66-82, DI, XXI, 1933; Obermann, Political Theory in Early Islam, pp.132-62, JACS, 55, 1935; Murtaḍā, pp.19-20; Milal, pp.66-7.
  4. Wāqidī, Maghāzī, II, p.842; Kūfī, II, fol. 55b.

With such accounts, it is obvious that a fair examination of the facts does not reveal ‘Abd al-Malik as turning his back on religion when he succeeded to the caliphate.

Other evidence which has been used to support the view of ‘Abd al-Malik's volte-face on becoming caliph, are stories of his predilection for wine and songs. It is essential to note here that there is no single reference in the sources which can be taken as indicating that ‘Abd al-Malik used to drink and listen to songs before he became caliph. On the other hand, several statements and stories suggest that he developed these habits during his caliphate; but these are contradictory and some of them unreliable.

In a conversation with the famous theologian of Medīna, Sa‘īd ibn al-Musaiyab, ‘Abd al-Malik admitted that he drank wine after he became caliph.<sup>1</sup> This same conversation has also been reported between the caliph and the famous woman theologian Um al-Dardā’, whose circle ‘Abd al-Malik used to attend even after becoming caliph.<sup>2</sup> It is also reported in the Kitāb al-Aghānī<sup>3</sup> that in talking to the Christian poet al-Akhtal, ‘Abd al-Malik described the taste and effect of wine to discourage him from drinking it - does this suggest that ‘Abd al-Malik knew of its effects from bitter experience -

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp.215-6 (citing Madā’inī); lqd, II, p.351; Nuwairī, IV, p.115.

2. ‘Asākir, X, fol. 262b; Bidāya, IX, p.66; Suyūṭī, p.144.

3. Agh., VIII, pp.290-1 (ed. Dār al-Kuttub); XXI, p.5.



as N. 'Akel says<sup>1</sup> - or does it simply reflect what he had himself been told by religious teachers in discouraging him from taking wine?

There is evidence of another occasion when the caliph is said not only to have spoken against wine to the Christian poet, but also tried to convince him to give it up by tempting him with a large sum of money.<sup>2</sup> On yet another occasion, he threatened al-Akhtal with the penalty of death, because he asked one of the Palace servants for wine to drink.<sup>3</sup>

From these contradictory reports and statements it is difficult to give a final answer to the question whether 'Abd al-Malik was a wine drinker or not. It would appear from his own confession, reported by al-Madā'inī<sup>4</sup> that 'Abd al-Malik had tasted wine, but there is no evidence to suggest that he ever made a habit of drinking, or that he drank to excess: for example, no sources mention drinking parties held by him or his drinking companions.<sup>5</sup> It is also apparent from these accounts that if he did drink, he did so privately, while in public he went to great pains to discourage wine and to maintain an orthodox position.

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1. Studies in the Social History of the Umayyad Period as Revealed in the Kitāb al-Aghhānī, pp.312-3, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1960.

2. Agh., VIII, pp.290-1 (ed. Dār al-Kutub), XXI, p.5.

3. Agh., XI, p.294.

4. Ansāb, XI, pp.215-6.

5. It is reported in the Kitāb al-Tāj, (pp.151-2), that 'Abd al-Malik used to drink once a month; but since there is no confirmation for this in other sources, it seems difficult to accept it.

Similar contradictory reports circulated about his attitude to songs and musicians. It is reported<sup>1</sup> that on one occasion 'Abdallah ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib paid a visit to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, who was at that time suffering from sciatica. To relieve him from this pain, Ibn Ja'far advised the caliph to invite somebody who was gifted in story-telling and literature to amuse him. The caliph refused this advice. The next day Ibn Ja'far came again to see the caliph accompanied by his mawlā Budaiḥ the singer, saying that he was a physician. However, Budaiḥ did nothing but sing before the caliph who was so pleased that he rewarded him lavishly. That 'Abd al-Malik was known to disapprove of Ghinā' can be seen clearly in the fact that 'Abdallah ibn Ja'far had to pretend that Budaiḥ was a physician and not a singer.<sup>2</sup> But this is contradicted by another story told by al-Madā'inī, who tells how 'Abd al-Malik once said: "I have never seen this bellied lute (Burbūṭ) that everybody talks about". This remark provoked two responses in those hearing it:- one group said, "Yes that is true, but he does know the Ṭanbūr", and others said, "He is lying, he has not only seen the Burbūṭ, but he can even play it."<sup>3</sup> Both of these imply that 'Abd al-Malik was fond of music and known by the people to be so.

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1. Agh., XIV, p. 10; Mustaḍraf, II, p. 295.

2. 'Akel, op. cit., p. 311.

3. Ansāb, XI, p. 261.

Another story depicting ‘Abd al-Malik as music-lover is from a less reliable source: a story found in the Kitāb al-Aghānī tells how the fame of Ibn Misjah, a musician living in Mecca in the time of ‘Abd al-Malik, spread so rapidly and he became so popular, that the strict Muslims complained to the governor that Ibn Misjah was seducing them by his profane art. When this complaint reached the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, he ordered that Ibn Misjah should be summoned to the capital. On his arrival there we read of him singing many different songs before the caliph. ‘Abd al-Malik not only pardoned him but sent him back to Mecca with handsome presents.<sup>1</sup>

Following this account of al-Aghānī, Von Kromer,<sup>2</sup> who seemed to be greatly impressed by it, accepted it as true without trying to examine its reliability. As has been pointed out by N. ‘Akel,<sup>3</sup> Duḥmān al-Ashqar, on whose authority this story was told, and who claimed to be the governor of Mecca for ‘Abd al-Malik, was a "mawlā singer of the late Umayyad and early ‘Abbāsīd period, and was mentioned as late as the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī and al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā the Barmakide in the eighth century A.D." Therefore, "he most probably was not born when ‘Abd al-Malik's reign came to an end."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Agh., III, pp.86-7.

2. The Orient under the Caliphs, p.45, Calcutta, 1920.

3. op. cit., p.254.

4. Ibid., pp.308-9.

In conclusion, as with the accounts of his wine drinking, it is difficult to decide between such conflicting accounts, but if one accepts the view that 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān was a music-lover (and al-Madā'inī, who argues this, is the most reliable authority), one still finds it hard to accept Farmer's account that 'Abd al-Malik was a patron of musicians: "Both Ibn Misjah and Budaiḥ, the best known musicians of the time, were patronized by him."<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to believe that 'Abd al-Malik showed an inordinate interest in music, in a way to conflict with his religious upbringing, or with his position as a sovereign of a Muslim State.

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1. Farmer, A History of Arabian Music, p.61, London, 1929.

CHAPTER II  
THE 'ALID OPPOSITION  
THE REVOLT OF AL-MUKHTĀR IBN ABĪ 'UBAID AL-THAQAFĪ

One of the most important events of the first century of Islām was the revolt of al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubaid al-Thaqafī in Kūfa 66/685. It contributed to a large extent to the development of the Shī'a as a sect and also had its significance in both the political and the social history of the Umayyad period and of Islām in general.

The early Arabic sources are remarkably rich in information about the revolt and the developments which followed it. Ṭabarī provides the fullest account; the narratives of Balādhurī and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī are almost as full. It is worth mentioning here that these three historians all utilized the earlier histories of Abū Mikhnaf, Madā'inī, Ibn al-Kalbī, 'Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam and Wāqidī. Ṭabarī relies almost entirely on the narrative of Abū Mikhnaf, whose importance lies in the fact that he uses the accounts of eye-witnesses such as Ḥamīd ibn Muslim al-Azdī, al-Sha'bī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Alī al-Kanūd. On the whole, Abū Mikhnaf, though at times showing an Iraqi (Kūfan) and Shī'a sympathy, is generally accurate in his information and more reliable than other sources. In contrast, Ibn A'tham shows clear pro-'Alid sympathies and should therefore be read carefully; he provides us with a means of balancing the other sources. In some respects, such as the beginning of the revolt, he gives a more

detailed account than found elsewhere. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt in his Tārīkh which is very brief on the revolt, shows moderate Umayyad sympathies. Al-Dīnawarī, has his own distinctive approach: his accounts are at times confused and unconfirmed by early sources. He has a tendency to exaggerate: the numbers he gives for those in the armies, the participants in the revolt, and more especially the number of the mawālī, are considerably higher than any other source. On the other hand, some of his information is original. Al-Ya'qūbī's very brief account of al-Mukhtār's revolt reveals moderate pro-'Alid sympathies. Al-Mubarrad and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih are both anti-Mukhtār in their writings. With the former, this may be due to Khārijite inclinations and the latter's antipathy may spring from his close connection with the Umayyad court in Spain. Al-'Iqd of Ibn Abd Rabbih is more important for its literary than historical qualities, and the information it contains on the social conditions of the mawālī should not be taken at its face value. Al-Mas'ūdī's Murūj reveals a pro-'Alid, and at times anti-Umayyad feeling, but on the other hand it provides us with some important dates which are lacking in the other sources. He shows clearly the connection between al-Mukhtār and Muḥammad ibn al-ḥanafīyya. The later historians, such as Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwairī, add little new material; they mostly re-edit and summarize the narratives in Balādhurī and Ṭabarī. The Shī'ite biographers, such as Kashshī and Ṭūsī, provide valuable information about both the doctrine and the personalities of the Shī'a. They provide a useful Shī'ī background to the

revolt, most useful since the history of al-Mukhtār has come down to us mostly from non-Shī'ī sources. Even the eye-witnesses mentioned in Ṭabarī, were men who, although formerly allies of al-Mukhtār, deserted him and fought against him. The historical tradition to which we owe our information grew up in Kūfa, especially in the milieu of the Ashraf and therefore is anti-Mukhtār.<sup>1</sup>

Modern scholars differ in their views on al-Mukhtār and the nature of his revolt. Van Gelder<sup>2</sup> considers him to be a man of remarkable abilities, but so unscrupulous that he would pursue any means to achieve his goal of seizing political power. Van Vloten<sup>3</sup> says that al-Mukhtār gained the support of the mawālī in Kūfa as a result of sponsoring their claim to equal share in the "Fai'" as the Arabs: this, however, led to a decline in the number of his 'Arab supporters. Wellhausen<sup>4</sup> regards al-Mukhtār as the first to work towards the removal of the social differences of his time. He admits that al-Mukhtār exploited the name of Ibn al-Hanafiyya but considers him (al-Mukhtār) as sincere in his ideas and not to be convicted of bad faith. Levi Della Vida<sup>5</sup> follows Wellhausen's

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1. E.I.<sup>1</sup>, (Al-Mukhtār).

2. Muhtar de Falsche Profeet, pp.142-3, Leiden, 1888.

3. Recherches Sur la Domination Arab, p.15, Amsterdam, 1894.

4. Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, pp.87-9 and 94-5, Berlin, 1901.

5. E.I.<sup>1</sup>, (Al-Mukhtār).

argument when he says that al-Mukhtār's exploitation of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's name, and his double-dealing with the Ashrāf were "tactical expedients" necessary for the triumph of his cause; and not the product of bad faith. He adds that al-Mukhtār "sincerely believed in his mission and equalitarian ideas about the mawālī..." Professor M. Hodgson<sup>1</sup> regards al-Mukhtār as compromising the Shī'ite movement "with the toleration of such varied elements as 'Arab divination and equality for the mawālī". S. Moscati<sup>2</sup> considers that al-Mukhtār was an "inspired prophet", and saw the significance of his movement as lying in the more extremist religious cults arising at the time, introducing a new political element, that of the mawālī, into the Shī'ite movement. Al-Kharbūtlī<sup>3</sup> considers al-Mukhtār as an enthusiastic Shī'ite, and his movement as a real reflection of the social, political and religious conditions prevailing at the time. Finally, Dr. K.A. Fariq thinks that al-Mukhtār was an opportunist and a false prophet.<sup>4</sup> The following study is an attempt to a better understanding and assessment of al-Mukhtār's personality and his revolt.

Al-Mukhtār's father was Abū 'Uбайд Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr ibn 'Umair ibn 'Awf from the tribe of Thaqīf. His mother was Dawma bint 'Amr ibn Wahb

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1. How Did The Early Shī'a Become Sectarian, p.3, JAOS, 75, 1955.
  2. Per Una Storia Dell'antica Si'a, pp.256-7, RSO, XXX, 1955.
  3. Al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, p.5, Cairo, 1963.
  4. The Story of an Arab Diplomat, p.121, SII, no.3, 1966.



ibn Munabbih, another Thaqifite.<sup>1</sup> He was born in the first year of Hijra in Tā'if, 622 A.D. Little is known about his early life; the first important information is that when he was thirteen years old he accompanied his father, an army leader, in the battle of the Bridge.<sup>2</sup> His father lost his life in this battle. Al-Mukhtār's uncle, Sa'd ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, was governor of Madā'in for the Caliph 'Alī, and we find al-Mukhtār enjoying his uncle's confidence, being entrusted with two important tasks. The first was to act as deputy governor while his uncle left Madā'in in pursuit of a Khārijite group.<sup>3</sup> The second occasion was when he was entrusted with a sum of money sent by his uncle Sa'd from Madā'in to the Caliph 'Alī in Kūfa.<sup>4</sup>

In his youth, spent in Medīna after the death of his father, al-Mukhtār was known to be an 'Alid sympathizer and devoted to the Banū Hāshim.<sup>5</sup> Yet there is a story which depicts him as anti-Shī'ī ('Uthmānī), based on the advice he gave to his uncle at the time when al-Ḥasan, son and heir of 'Alī, was carried wounded to Madā'in. The advice was that al-Ḥasan be handed over to Mu'āwiya

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1. Zubairī, p.113; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.92; Ma'ārif, p.175; Futūḥ, p.250; Ansāb, V, p.214; Nasab, fol. 155b; Ṭab., I, 2175 ff.; II, p.735; Jamharat, p.256ff.; 'Asākīr, XVI, fol. 269b; Usd, IV, p.336, V, 248ff.
  2. Ansāb, V, p.214; Ṭab., I, p.2174ff; Usd, IV, p.336; Lisān, V, p.6; Iṣāba, III, p.1066.
  3. Dinawarī, p.218; Ṭab., I, p.3366.
  4. Iṣāba, III, p.1067. K.A. Fariq presumes that al-Mukhtār was occupying a financial post under his uncle in Madā'in, The Story of an Arab Diplomat, p.54, SII, no.2, 1966.
  5. 'Asākīr, XVI, fol.269b ('Abdallāh ibn Rabī'a al-Makhzūmī); Dhahabī, II, p.380ff. (citing Ibn Sa'd & Wāqidī).

in order to win the latter's favour. His uncle refused this advice and cursed al-Mukhtār.<sup>1</sup> This contradiction has been explained by historians in various ways. Wellhausen<sup>2</sup> avoids the issue: he simply quotes the story without comment in a footnote, and follows it by another story depicting al-Mukhtār as a Shī'ī sympathizer refusing to sign the accusation against Hujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī. Dr. Fariq<sup>3</sup> takes the view that al-Mukhtār was an opportunist and "sought to exploit the grave situation". Al-Kharbūṭly<sup>4</sup> explains al-Mukhtār's advice by saying he was infuriated by al-Ḥasan's acceptance of a peaceful settlement with Mu'āwiya. Historical tradition seems to be in favour of this last conclusion. It is reported by Abū Mikhnaḥ and al-Zuhri<sup>5</sup> that when al-Ḥasan received the homage of the people of Kūfa, he stipulated that they should make peace with whom he chose to have peace, and fight whom he chose to fight; this made them suspect that he was preparing to negotiate with Mu'āwiya. These suspicions were confirmed when for two months al-Ḥasan neither mentioned war against Mu'āwiya nor marched

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1. Ansāb, V, p.214, fol. 223b; Ṭab., II, pp.2 & 520; Ibn al-Jauzī, Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ, pp.196-7 (citing al-Sha'bī).
  2. Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.74.
  3. The Story of an Arab Diplomat, p.56, SII, III, no.2, 1966.
  4. op. cit., p.52.
  5. Ansāb, fol. 222b (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ & 'Awāna); Ṭab., II, p.5 (citing al-Zuhri); Bayāsī, fol. 31b (citing al-Zuhri).

against Syria. It is also reported by al-Balādhurī<sup>1</sup> that al-Ḥasan was harshly criticised by his prominent Shī'ī followers for concluding a settlement with Mu'āwiya. His Shī'ī critics included al-Musayyab ibn Najba al-Fazārī, Sufyān ibn Layl al-Hamdānī, Ḥujr ibn 'Adī and Sulaimān ibn Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī. Thus the advice given by Al-Mukhtār to his uncle might have been influenced by the same motives, and the realization that al-Ḥasan was not the man of the hour for the Shī'ā. Moreover, if al-Mukhtār intended in giving this advice to his uncle, to go over to the side of Mu'āwiya, he had his opportunity soon afterwards. The advice reached Mu'āwiya's ears and he would doubtless have welcomed al-Mukhtār as an ally; but al-Mukhtār did not defect, which makes it difficult to accept Fariq's conclusion.

Al-Mukhtār continued to show himself as a Shī'ī, or at least anti-Umayyad, until the end of his life. In 51/671, when Ziyād ibn Abīh, the governor of al-Kūfa for Mu'āwiya, accused Ḥujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī of having attempted to revolt against the caliph, he asked the Ashrāf of al-Kūfa to sign the accusation as witnesses. While all were keen to do so to show their loyalty to the governor, al-Mukhtār did not commit himself in this affair, managing to

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1. Ansab, fol. 225a; Tab., II, p. 9; Imtā', II, p. 64; Nihāya, I, p. 73; Siyar, p. 57.

(وَقَالَ سَفِيَانُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ لِحَمْدَانَ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ فَقَالَ لَهُ: يَا قَتْلَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ)  
 (وَقَالَ تَبَّ هَمْرِي مُحَمَّدِي الْكِنْدِي وَقَالَ: سَوَدَتْ وَجْهُهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ)  
 (فَلَمَّا ضَرَحَ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ تَلَقَاهُ نَاسٌ بِالْعَادِسَةِ فَقَالُوا: يَا قَتْلَ الْعَرَبِ).

avoid signing it.<sup>1</sup>

Muslim ibn 'Aqīl, sent by al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as his personal representative to the Shī'a of Kūfa in 60/679, chose the house of al-Mukhtār as his residence.<sup>2</sup> As a result, al-Mukhtār's house became the centre of Muslim's and the Shī'as' activities, until the arrival of 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād as governor of Kūfa for the Caliph Yazīd ibn Mu'āwīya. This choice of al-Mukhtār's house shows that Muslim must have been sure of his attachment to the Shī'a cause, or at very least, certain that he was anti-Umayyad. Another reason for the choice was that al-Mukhtār was the son-in-law of al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī,<sup>3</sup> who was still the governor of Kūfa, a fact which enabled the Shī'a followers to act freely. Had al-Mukhtār really been a 'Uthmānī, what better opportunity would he have had of jeopardizing the Shī'a cause by betraying Muslim to the governor?

When Muslim ibn 'Aqīl was forced to revolt prematurely in 60/679, al Mukhtār was outside Kūfa in his estate in Khuṭrāniyya. Being informed of Muslim's revolt, he hurried back to Kūfa at the head of his mawālī to support

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1. Ansāb, fol. 403a (citing Abū Mukhnaf); Tab., II, p.134 (citing Abū Mikhnaf): Agh., XVI, p.8 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).
  2. Ansāb, V, p.214; Dīnawarī, p.244; Tab., II, p.237 (citing Abū Mikhnaf) & p.502; Kūfī, I, fols. 196a; Irshād, p.205.
  3. Ansāb, fol. 155a; Dīnawarī, p.247; Tab., II, p.264 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Irshād, p.207.

him.<sup>1</sup> He arrived too late to assist Muslim, deserted by his followers, and killed by the governor. He was, however, summoned to the governor's presence, and reproached for his implication in the revolt. When al-Mukhtār denied any part in it, the governor struck him in the eye with a stick, and sent him to prison. He remained there until after the battle of Karbālā' 10th Muḥarram, 61/10th October, 680, when he was released by the intervention of his brother-in-law 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; but he was ordered to leave the city within three days.<sup>2</sup>

On the third day after his release, he left Kūfa for al-Ḥijāz; on his way there he met Ibn al-'Irq, a mawlā of Thaqīf, who asked him what had happened to his eye. Al-Mukhtār told him that 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād struck it and swore that he would cut "his fingers, hands and limbs into pieces" as revenge. He confirmed this when Ibn al-'Irq doubted it, and then asked him about Ibn al-Zubair. He was told that "Ibn al-Zubair has taken refuge in the sanctity of al-Ḥaram (the shrine of al-Ka'ba)... People say that he receives homage secretly. He will come into the open as soon as he has gathered sufficient followers". Al-Mukhtār replied: "Ibn al-Zubair

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.214-15; Ya'qūbī, II, p.307; Tab., II, pp.220-1 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.139.
  2. Ansāb, V, pp.215-6; Ya'qūbī, II, p.307; Tab., II, pp.522-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, I, fols. 235b-236a.

is the man of the 'Arabs; if he follows my plans and listens to my advice, I will be the man to take the responsibility of securing the people's support for him. Otherwise, well, I am equal to any other 'Arab. The time of troubles is about to begin; one day you will hear that al-Mukhtār and his followers are seeking revenge against those who slew al-Ḥusain and by God, I shall kill as many as were slain in vengeance of Yahya ibn Zakariyyā".<sup>1</sup>

These veiled hints are the first indication of his ambitions for the future. He must have realised that, after the fall of al-Ḥusain, Ibn al-Zubair had become the centre of opposition to the Umayyad rule, since there was no active 'Alid claimant. This was presumably the reason why al-Mukhtār went to al-Ḥijāz, rather than elsewhere. It would seem that he turned to Ibn al-Zubair not so much for love of his cause, but for a common Umayyad antipathy, combined with his ambition to achieve an important post. His claim that he could secure the support of the people for Ibn al-Zubair was based on the increased anti-Umayyad feeling in Kūfa due to al-Ḥusain's death: al-Mukhtār knew that this could easily be exploited for Ibn al-Zubair's cause, or for his own use. To gain such popular support in Iraq (especially in Kūfa), it would be necessary to depict the cause as one of vengeance for al-Ḥusain: such revenge would need the sanction of an 'Alid, especially 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain, or Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.

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1. *Ansāb*, V, pp.215-6; *Tab.*, II, p.524 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); *Kūfī*, I, fols. 263a-263b. The name given here is al-Ṣu'qub ibn Zuhair and not Ibn al-'Irq.

The sources give accounts of correspondence between al-Mukhtār and both these 'Alid claimants. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain was more favourable for al-Mukhtār's purpose, since he was seeking to avenge his father's death. 'Alī at this time was a young man, about 24 years old, and was keeping aloof from politics, perhaps because of witnessing the massacre of his father and his family in the battle of Karbalā' 10th Muḥarram, 61/10th October, 680. It was to Ibn al Ḥanifiyya, however, that the eyes of the Shī'a were turned after the death of al-Ḥusain, for none of the 'Alids of the Fatimid line was of a suitable age.<sup>1</sup> But he also was politically inactive and held strongly to the idea that a sovereign should be unanimously chosen. He showed unwillingness to accept the Caliphate on any other terms.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mukhtār wrote to 'Alī to show his loyalty to him, and asking if he could rally the Kūfans for him. He sent with the letter a large sum of money. 'Alī refused this offer and declared al-Mukhtār to be a liar who was trying to exploit the cause of "Ahl Al-Bait" for his own interests.<sup>3</sup>

Having failed to gain the support of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain, al-Mukhtār turned to his uncle Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. Al Mukhtār sent him a letter similar to that he had sent to 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain and also sent a sum of money.

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1. B. Lewis, The Origin of Ismā'ilism, p.26, Cambridge, 1940.
  2. Sa'd, V, pp.66-86.
  3. Ansāb, V, p.272 (citing Aḥmad ibn Ibrahīm); Murūj, V, p.172.

When news of this reached 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain he urged his uncle not to accept al-Mukhtār's offer, and to declare him an impostor. The latter, before taking any decision, consulted 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abbās, who advised him not to comply with 'Alī's advice, on the grounds that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya did not know how he would fare with Ibn al-Zubair who had just been recognised as caliph in Mecca.<sup>1</sup>

Since no chronology is given, nor place names, for these two letters, it is impossible to be certain whether they took place before or after al-Mukhtār had arrived in Kūfa. However, judging from the fact that he sent with each letter a large sum of money, one might guess that they were sent after he had gained a source of income, that is, after seizing Kūfa. The fact that al-Mukhtār gained success in Kūfa by using the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya can be explained in the light of a meeting which had taken place between them before al-Mukhtār was left Mecca to go to Kūfa. On this occasion al-Mukhtār told Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya that he was going to avenge his relatives and acquire power for him. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, however, gave al-Mukhtār only a non-committal reply: he neither approved nor disapproved of al-Mukhtār's intention to avenge al-Ḥusain, and only warned him against bloodshed.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mukhtār took this attitude as consent, and exploited Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's name for his own interest in Kūfa: but wishing to gain a more

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1. Ansāb, V, p.218; Murūj, V, pp.172-3.

2. Ansāb, V, p.218.



reliable 'Alid recognition, he contacted 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusain, only to be refused. He therefore wrote to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, but he never succeeded in gaining explicit recognition from him. In the event, the hestiation and political inactivity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya encouraged al-Mukhtār more and more to exploit his name for his own interest.

In Mecca al-Mukhtār went to Ibn al-Zubair who inquired about affairs in Kūfa. After giving him full information about the situation there, al-Mukhtār offered his homage to Ibn al-Zubair and said, "Give me your hand and receive my homage, and try to meet my desires."<sup>1</sup> Thus al-Mukhtār's homage was not given unconditionally: he was attempting to exploit Ibn al-Zubair's need for support in order to gain his own ends. But he over-estimated his need; Ibn al-Zubair refused his aid, angry at his indiscretion in speaking of such serious matters in public. Not finding in Mecca what he wanted, al-Mukhtār left for al-Ṭa'if, his native city, where he remained for a year.<sup>2</sup> The sources are all silent about his activities during this year in al-Ṭa'if. Van Gelder<sup>3</sup> presumes that during this time he was in contact with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in Medīna. Dr. K. Fariq<sup>4</sup> says that "he made periodical visits to Mecca and Medīna and met Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain to read their minds and win their good-will." But there is no evidence to support either

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1. *Ansāb*, V, p.216; *Ṭab.*, II, pp.525-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); *Kūfī*, I, fol. 236b.

2. *Ansāb*, V, p.216; *Ṭab.*, II, p.226; *Kūfī*, I, fol. 236b.

3. *op. cit.*, p.29.

4. *The Story of an Arab Diplomat*, p.62, *§II*, III, no.2, 1966.

of these views. Finally, al-Kharbūṭly says that he wanted to escape from Ibn al-Zubair's observation.<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that al-Mukhtār was watching the political situation from al-Ta'if, and that during this retirement, the political and religious ideas later connected with his name began to take shape.<sup>2</sup>

A year later, al-Mukhtār appeared suddenly in Mecca. By this time, Ibn al-Zubair had been publically recognized as Caliph, but al-Mukhtār stayed aloof at first. It was through the mediation of 'Abbās ibn Sahl that a meeting was arranged between the two. Al-Mukhtār paid homage to Ibn al-Zubair on the following conditions: that Ibn al-Zubair consult him in all his decisions, that he give him audience before everybody else, and award him a high post as soon as he had been unanimously recognized as Caliph.<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Zubair replied that he would receive al-Mukhtār's homage only in accordance with the Book of God (Qur'ān) and the Sunna of the Prophet. Al-Mukhtār refused to give homage on such terms, claiming that Ibn al-Zubair was not treating him with the distinction he deserved.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Zubair, on 'Abbās' advice, accepted al-Mukhtār's terms. These serve to demonstrate very clearly his political ambition and also confirm what he had already stated in his first meeting with

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1. op. cit., p. 92.

2. E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (al-Mukhtār).

3. Ansāb, V, pp. 216-7; Ṭab., II, p. 526ff. (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, I, fols. 237a-237b; Bad', VI, p. 15.

4. Ansāb, V, pp. 216-7; Ṭab., II, p. 526; Kūfī, I, fols. 237a-237b; Bad', VI, p. 15.

Ibn al-Zubair - and even before that, in his conversation with Ibn al-ʿIrq.<sup>1</sup> Why was Ibn al-Zubair now prepared to accept al-Mukhtār's terms after before refusing them? The answer seems to be that Ibn al-Zubair, realizing al-Mukhtār's ambitions, decided not to risk creating trouble for himself in al-Hijāz or in Irāq by antagonizing him. It may also be that al-Mukhtār, by this time, had become an important man, whose political qualities were indispensable. Or it could have been due to political diplomacy, as a way of flattering ʿAbdallah ibn ʿUmar, a son-in-law of al-Mukhtār's, whose support Ibn al-Zubair greatly needed.<sup>2</sup>

From this time until the death of Yazīd I, 64/683, we find al-Mukhtār closely attached to Ibn al-Zubair. When Yazīd I sent a Syrian army against Ibn al-Zubair 64/683, al-Mukhtār distinguished himself in fighting the Syrians and defending the Kaʿba. He remained in Hijāz until the withdrawal of the army at the death of the caliph Yazīd in the same year.<sup>3</sup>

Five months passed after the Syrians withdrew from Mecca and still al-Mukhtār waited for Ibn al-Zubair to give him the promised post (probably

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1. See pp. 72-3.
  2. *Ansāb*, V, pp. 195-7 (citing *Madāʾinī*); *Agh.*, I, p. 12; *Sharḥ*, I, p. 326; XX, p. 149 (quoting *Agh.*); *Kharbūṭlī*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
  3. *Zubairī*, p. 269; *Imāma*, II, p. 10 (citing *Abū Maʿshar*); *Tab.*, II, pp. 528-9. (citing *Abū Mikhnaf*); *Kūfī*, I, fols. 238b-239a, 239b, 243b; *ʿIqd.*, IV, p. 393 (citing *Abū Maʿshar*); *Murūj*, V, pp. 165-6; *Badʿ*, VI, p. 15; *ʿAsākir*, XV, fol. 269b (citing *ʿAbdallah ibn Abī Rabīʿa al-Makhzūmī*). It is reported (*Tab.*, II, p. 529) that during the siege of al-Kaʿba by al-Ḥusain =

the governorship of Kūfa), with no success. Therefore not prepared to trust Ibn al-Zubair any more, he made up his mind to go to Kūfa.<sup>1</sup> In order to find out about the situation there, he kept asking everybody who came from Kūfa for news. He was informed that the people there had accepted the authority of Ibn al-Zubair, although a considerable number of them were waiting for a man who would rally them in support of their own cause, beyond the simple anti-Umayyad position of Ibn al-Zubair. If they could find such a leader, he could, with their support, rule the whole Islamic world. At this news, al-Mukhtār said, "I am Abū Ishāq. I am their man and no one else."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he left Mecca for Kūfa, very cautiously, in order not to arouse the suspicions of Ibn al-Zubair who might prevent him from leaving and hamper his project. Contradicting this, it is reported<sup>3</sup> that al-Mukhtār left Mecca for

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= ibn Numair, al-Mukhtār was fighting with a group of Khārijite who came to Ibn al-Zubair to defend the Ka'ba. It is probably for this reason that he was called a Khārijite (Mubarrad, III, p.264). Dozy in his book *Essai Sur L'Islamisme*, p.223, Paris, 1879, refers to this, and depicts al-Mukhtār as being a Khārijite. The fact that al-Mukhtār fought with the Khārijites to defend al-Ka'ba does not make him a Khārijite; this becomes very clear when we consider the other elements who participated in the defence of the Ka'ba. In addition to the Khārijites there were the people of Mecca and Medīna, and also an Abyssinian group headed by Ibn al-Zubair. If we consider al-Mukhtār a Khārijite on these grounds, we must also regard all these groups, including Ibn al-Zubair, as Khārijites too. The fact that the Khārijites deserted Ibn al-Zubair, after the withdrawal of the Syrian army from Mecca, reveals the reason why they joined Ibn al-Zubair. Moreover when al-Mukhtār seized Kūfa we neither find him supporting the Khārijite nor being supported by them.

1. *Ansāb*, V, p.217; *Ya'qūbī*, II, p.307; *Tab.*, II, pp.530-531.
2. *Ansāb*, V, p.217; *Tab.*, II, pp.530-532 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); *Kūfī*, I, fols. 257a, 257b, 258a.
3. *Ansāb*, V, pp.271-2 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr); *Murūj*, V, pp.170-71.

Kūfa with the permission of Ibn al-Zubair and not on his own accord. He sent him there to rally the people of Kūfa and prepare them for war against the Syrians. This would seem to be unlikely, for if Ibn al-Zubair was confident of al-Mukhtār and ready to offer him such an important post, the latter would not have deserted him, but would continue to be on his side. Dr. K.A. Fariq<sup>1</sup> gives two contradictory accounts, stating that Ibn al-Zubair did not trust al-Mukhtār, this being the reason why he did not give him a post; while at the same time he says that Ibn al-Zubair sent al-Mukhtār to Kūfa "to enlist the support of the Kūfans for the new caliph and rouse them to war against the Syrian army". As we have seen<sup>2</sup> it was now that al-Mukhtār contacted Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya for the first time.

Al-Mukhtār reached Kūfa on Friday 15th Ramaḍān, 64/6th May, 684.<sup>3</sup> He entered the city passing deliberately through the quarters of the Shī'a, showing himself to be a precursor (Bashīr) of a new era of prosperity. He saluted every one he met and promised them prosperity and success, inviting them to see him at his house that same evening.<sup>4</sup> Then he went to the mosque and performed his prayer before going home. By announcing predictions of success and prosperity in such a vague way, al-Mukhtār tried to rally to

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1. The Story of an Arab Diplomat, p.63, SII, III, No.1, 1966.

2. See p. 75

3. Ṭab., II, p. 509.

4. Ansāb, V, p. 217; Ṭab., II, pp. 532-33 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, I, fols. 257b-258a.

himself as many of the Shī'a of Kūfa as possible. Even those who were not thinking of associating themselves with him, for one reason or another, would have been curious to know what he had brought them, or for whom he was working, especially in such a troubled period.<sup>1</sup>

When the Shī'a assembled at al-Mukhtār's house that evening, they told him that the majority of the Shī'a had joined Sulaimān ibn Ṣurad al-Khuzā'i who was about to march against 'Ubadallah ibn Ziyād, to stop his advance on Iraq, and to avenge al-Ḥusain. Then al-Mukhtār, already well-informed about Sulaimān before arriving in Kūfa, said that "he had been sent to them by the Mahdī (the rightly-guided one), the son of the Waṣī (legatee) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, as his confidant (Amīn), minister (Wazīr) and officer (Amīr), with orders to fight al-Mulhidūn, to avenge the Mahdī's family and

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1. It is reported in Ṭab., II, p.532, on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, that when al-Mukhtār passed by the quarter of Banū Baddā', he met 'Ubaida ibn 'Amr al-Baddī from the Kinda tribe. This man, beside being a brave warrior and a zealous partisan of 'Alī, was known also as a good poet, who indulged in wine to an excess. After saluting him al-Mukhtār conveyed to him the good news of prosperity and success and promised him God's pardon because of his love to 'Alī and his family. 'Ubaida, taking the most hopeful view of al-Mukhtār's announcement, asked for an explanation. But al-Mukhtār asked 'Ubaida to meet him with the other people of his quarter in al-Mukhtār's house that same evening. It seems that al-Mukhtār, realising the importance of the poet to his cause, made this concession to 'Ubaida.

to defend the weak (Du'afā' )". He also told the Shī'a that "... Sulaimān is... too old, has had no experience in political matters or in wars."<sup>1</sup>

By the weak he meant those who were socially weak, i.e. the slaves, the mawālī and some 'Arabs too, to whom his appeal was directed; perhaps it is for this reason that we find many 'Arabs joining him in his first revolt.

The jurists of later period classified the mawālī into three categories: mawlā Rahim, that is, a blood relation; mawlā 'Atāqa, that is, a freed man, who is often born free but enslaved in war, and through emancipation becomes a mawlā of his former master; finally mawlā al-'Aqd, that is by kinship. The second and third kind are of interest to us in this study.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Mukhtār is credited with being the first to develop the idea of Mahdī as a religious Messiah.<sup>3</sup> The idea of Mahdī which al-Mukhtār here emphasized, in talking of the weak, was directed at the socially deprived groups, who looked at Ibn al-Hanafiyya as their "Saviour", the one to establish a reign of justice. Al-Mukhtār was the first to understand, and to try to remedy, the existing distinctions in social, economic and political rights between 'Arabs

1. Ansāb, V, pp.207-218; Ya'qūbī, II, p.308; Tab., II, pp.351-52 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ): Kūfī, I, fol. 258a.
2. Goldziher, Muslim Studies, p.102 (ed. S.M. Stern), London, 1967; M. Watt, Shī'ism Under the Early Umayyads, p.163, JRAS, 1960; Al-'Alī, al-Tanzīmāt al-Ijtīmā'iyya wal Iqtisādiyya fīl Baṣra fīl Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī, p.63, Baghdad, 1953.
3. B. Lewis, The Arabs in History, p.72, London, 1964; Margoliouth, On Mahdī and Mahdisim, p.4, PBA, XV, 1915; E.I.<sup>1</sup>, (al-Mahdī).

and mawālī.<sup>1</sup> As for the question of whether Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya agreed to be called al-Mahdī, our sources, apart from the report of Ibn Saʿd,<sup>2</sup> are silent. This report says that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had no objection to it, but he preferred to be called by his name Muḥammed or his "Kunya" Abu'l Qāsim. It seems, therefore, that al-Mukhtār applied this title for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya against the latter's will.

Al Mukhtār found in Sulaimān ibn Ṣurad a great rival, for he was the first to call vengeance for al-Ḥusain; and owing to Sulaimān's age and past, it was difficult for al-Mukhtār to gather the Shīʿa round himself. Nevertheless, he did not yield but carried on with his plans. He began to alienate the Shīʿa from Sulaimān by emphasizing his own mission from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, and pointing out that Sulaimān was now old and without experience of war. "If they followed Sulaimān, he would kill them and himself."<sup>3</sup> These tactics were successful and as a result, only four thousand out of the sixteen thousand men who paid homage to Sulaimān assembled in his camp prior to his march against Ibn Ziyād.<sup>4</sup> Although both al-Mukhtār and

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1. Wellhausen, Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p. 95.
  2. Saʿd, V, pp. 68-9.
  3. Ansāb, V, p. 218; Tab., II, pp. 509-510 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Ibn al-Jawzī, Tadhkirat al-Khawas, p. 283. Sulaimān was an old companion of the Prophet, who after the death of the latter resided in Kūfa and became a champion of 'Alī, accompanying him in nearly all his wars. He was also an influential figure in the Khuzā'a tribe. See Saʿd, IV, p. 30; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, pp. 107 & 137; Maʿad, fol. 62b; Jamharat, p. 226; Uṣd, II, p. 359; Iṣāba, II, p. 253; Tahdhīb, IV, pp. 200-201; Baghdādī, Tārikh Baghdād, I, p. 200ff.
  4. Ansāb, V, p. 208; Tab., II, p. 539 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, fols. 258b-259a.



Sulaimān were claiming to avenge al-Ḥusain, yet they were working in different directions. Because of a tribal relationship between Sulaimān's followers and the Ashrāf of Kūfa, he refused to seize Kūfa and kill those who participated in the massacre of al-Ḥusain.<sup>1</sup> He claimed that only Ibn Ziyād and the Syrians were guilty of al-Ḥusain's slaughter. Al-Mukhtār, on the other hand, was preparing to seize Kūfa, an important factor in winning some of Sulaimān's supporters to his side.

Al-Mukhtār was, however, unwilling to take any violent action against Sulaimān, for the majority of the Shī'a were with him. It was impossible for him to risk arousing the antipathy of the Shī'a, if his scheme was to be successful. To this one might add that al-Mukhtār was almost sure of the failure of Sulaimān's movement and therefore left him to face his end. These tactics paid off, for Sulaimān's failure led the Shī'a to reconsider al-Mukhtār's offer of leadership, and eventually they turned towards him.

On the 22nd of Ramaḍān 64/14th of May 684, only one week after al-Mukhtār's arrival in Kūfa, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair sent 'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd al-Khaṭamī as Governor to al-Kūfa. With him was Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubaidallāh, as collector of Kharāj.<sup>2</sup> This however

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1. Ansāb, V, p.209 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Ṭab., II, p.541 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

2. Ansāb, V, p.207; Ṭab., II, p.509 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, I, fol. 258; Kāmil, IV, p.134.

was an unfortunate choice on the part of Ibn al-Zubair, for Ibrāhīm's father and grandfather had been killed in the battle of the Camel, which made it extremely unlikely that there would be cordial relations between him and the Kūfans. Moreover, the relationship between the Governor and the Kharāj collector was also strained, and in both cases the situation could be exploited by al-Mukhtār.<sup>1</sup>

After Sulaimān's departure, al-Mukhtār's activities aroused the suspicions of the Ashraf of al-Kūfa, most of whom had participated in the battle of Karbalā', Muḥarram 61/October 680 against al-Ḥusain. They reported him to the governor to warn him against the movement, saying that it was more dangerous than that of Sulaimān; for al-Mukhtār wanted to revolt against the governor in his own city.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, al-Mukhtār was seized and imprisoned, where he remained until the return of the remnant of Sulaimān ibn Ṣurad's followers from the battle of 'Ain al-Warda 63/685; Sulaimān had been killed in this battle.

During his imprisonment a committee of five, all of them Yemenites, were acting on his behalf and accepting homage for him.<sup>3</sup> Al-Mukhtār

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.207-8; Tab., II, p.515 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, pp.134-5; Kharbūṭlī, op. cit., 140.
  2. Ansāb, V, p.218; Tab., II, p.535 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).
  3. They were: al-Sā'ib ibn Mālīk al-Ash'arī, Yazīd ibn Anas al-Asadī, Ahmar ibn Shumait al-Ahmasī, Rifā'a ibn Shaddād al-Fityānī, and 'Abdallāh ibn Shaddād al-Jumahī. It is very interesting to point out that all these leaders belong to the Yemenite Tribes alone. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, pp.152-3; Nasab, fol. 58a; Ma'ad, fol. 50b; Tab., II, p.601; Jamharat, pp.182 & 367.

himself was working actively from his confinement proclaiming in rhymed prose propaganda emphasizing that his aim was to kill every tyrant with the help of his followers, whom he called Anṣār (Helpers), in order to regain the unity of the Muslims and to avenge the apostles; and for this end he did not mind death or the loss of worldly glory.<sup>1</sup> He also wrote to the routed followers of Sulaimān ibn Ṣurad, praising them for their efforts and wishing on them the mercy of God; he said that Sulaimān was not their man but he (al-Mukhtār) was the one sent to be their leader and asked them to be ready and hopeful. He summoned them to the "Book of God", the Sunna of the Prophet and the defence of the weak.<sup>2</sup> He was fully aware of what the Shī'a of his time wanted and he played with their sentiments accordingly, through these announcements.

Al-Mukhtār was released only after the request of his brother-in-law, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar and on the guarantee of ten influential men; he gave a strong religious vow not to engage in any subversive activities against the governor and the collector of the Kharāj as long as they were in power.<sup>3</sup> However, al-Mukhtār was quite prepared to dishonour this vow for the realization of his cause - although in the event he did not need to

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1. Ṭab., II, p.536; Kāmil, IV, p.143.

2. Ansāb, V, p.219; Ṭab., II, p.569 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, I, fol. 264a.

3. Ansāb, V, p.219; Ṭab., II, p.600 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).

do so - and laughed at the stupidity of the governor and his associate.

Meanwhile, 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair, considering the danger of al-Mukhtār and his movement, appointed a new governor for al-Kūfa, 'Abdallah ibn Muṭī', 27th Ramaḍān, 65/6th May, 685, and presumably ordered him to be more cautious and prudent than his predecessors.<sup>1</sup> The coming of the new governor enabled al-Mukhtār to act more freely since he has no commitments towards him.

In his first speech Ibn Muṭī' told the Kūfans that he would adopt the policy of 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and warned them against disunity and creating troubles.<sup>2</sup> Here again Ibn al-Zubair was unfortunate in choosing this man for the governorship of al-Kūfa, the centre of the Shī'a movement at that time. His speech shows clearly his ignorance of both the political situation and the feelings of the Shī'a towards 'Umar and 'Uthmān and their financial policy. The Kūfans were looking back to the days of the Caliph 'Alī, where Kūfa was the capital of the Islamic Empire and the place of the central treasury, and their Fai' was distributed among them.<sup>3</sup> No wonder, therefore, that the governor's

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1. Ansāb, V, p.220; Tab., II, p.602; Kūfī, I, fol. 264a.

2. Ansāb, V, p.220; Tab., II, p.603; Kūfī, I, fol. 264b.

3. Tab., II, p.603 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Wellhausen, Die Religions-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.76.

speech stirred up his audiences who opposed him openly and strongly, so that he was forced to announce at the end of the speech that he would adopt any policy to please them.<sup>1</sup>

This opposition to the new governor showed clearly the latter's weakness and the attitude of the Shī'a towards Ibn al-Zubair, and also how strong al-Mukhtār and his followers had become.

However, this strength of al-Mukhtār did not escape the shrewd eyes of I'yās ibn Muḍarīb al-ʿijlī, who was at the head of the Shurṭa (police); he warned the governor by informing him that those who opposed him were the followers of al-Mukhtār. He also advised him to imprison al-Mukhtār, for news had come to him that the latter was planning to seize al-Kūfa.<sup>2</sup> Consequently Ibn Muṭīʿ sent Zāʿida ibn Qudāma al-Thaqafī, a kinsman of al-Mukhtār, and Ḥusain ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Bursumī from the tribe of Hamdān, to ask al-Mukhtār to come and meet the governor. Zāʿida ibn Qudāma, who was an intimate friend of al-Mukhtār and remained faithful to him even after his death, hinted to al-Mukhtār, by reciting a certain verse from the Qurʾān, not to go. Al-Mukhtār pretended that he was sick and asked the two men to inform the governor of this and apologise on his behalf.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ansāb, V, p.221; Ṭab., II, p.604; Kūfī, I, fol. 264b.

2. Ṭab., II, p.604 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, I, fol. 264b.

3. Ṭab., II, p.604; Kūfī, I, fol. 264b.

At this time al-Mukhtār began to prepare to seize al-Kūfa in Muḥarram 66/August 685 and sent for his followers to gather in the houses around him. But as he was busy planning, a group of Shī'a among his followers began to suspect his claim of being sent to them by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and decided to go to Mecca to question the latter about the authenticity of al-Mukhtār's claim. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya answered that he wished for God to take his revenge on his enemies, through whatever instrument He liked.<sup>1</sup> The delegation considered this vague and non-committal answer from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as permission from them to support al-Mukhtār, on the grounds that if Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya did not approve al-Mukhtār's activity he would have ordered them not to join him.

All this inquiry was taking place without the knowledge of al-Mukhtār. When he learnt of it, he became very worried, fearing that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya might have given them a reply which would be injurious to his plans. He therefore wished to revolt before the coming of the delegation but was not able to.<sup>2</sup>

After a month the delegation came back and told al-Mukhtār that Ibn

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1. Ansāb, V, p.222; Ya'qūbī, II, p.308; Tab., II, pp.305-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, I, fols 265a-265b. The delegation were: 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shuraih al-Shibāmī, Sa'īd ibn Munqidh al-Thawrī, Si'r ibn Abī Si'r al-Ḥanafī, al-Āswad ibn Jarād al-Kindī and Qudāma ibn Mālik al-Jushāmī. Here again all of them were Yemenites.

2. Tab., II, p.608 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).

Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya ordered them to support him. Al-Mukhtār, in relief, summoned the Shīʿa for a general meeting at which he announced the approval of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya of his mission. This was confirmed by the head of the delegation and his companions, who delivered speeches on this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be doubted that the favourable reply of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya brought by the delegation enhanced al-Mukhtār's prestige and increased his followers. For it encouraged those who were in doubt of al-Mukhtār's claims to be an agent of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to come to his camp, or at least to sympathise with him. The celebrated traditionist al-Shaʿbī and his father Shurahbīl were among those hesitators who responded to al-Mukhtār after this event.<sup>2</sup>

In order to face the governor Ibn Muṭʿī and the Ashrāf of Kūfa, al-Mukhtār had to win the support of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtār. The latter was the son of Mālīk ibn al-Ḥarīth al-Ashtār, one of the noblemen of the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ from Madhhij, and a great supporter of ʿAlī. Like his father, Ibrāhīm was a man of great influence among his tribe's members. He was with his father on ʿAlī's side in the battle of Ṣiffīn and remained faithful to ʿAlī and his family. It is not easy to account for the failure of Ibrāhīm to

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.211-2; Ṭab., II, pp.608-609 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, I, fol. 265b.

2. Ṭab., II, p.609 (citing al-Shaʿbī); Kūfī, I, fol.265b.

associate himself with Sulaimān ibn Ṣurad's movement or with that of al-Mukhtār at the beginning. Wellhausen<sup>1</sup> suggests that Ibrāhīm "did not believe in Shī'ism as it was at that time." It is probably because Ibrāhīm did not trust either leader and considered himself at least their equal, if not more competent than both. This view is confirmed by the answer he gave to the followers of al-Mukhtār when they asked him to join the latter's movement.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mukhtār had sent to him notables of the Shī'a and influential men among his followers, among whom was the famous al-Sha'bī and his father. When they asked Ibrāhīm to join them he agreed only if they would place the leadership in his hands.<sup>3</sup> The delegation considered this an impossible demand, since al-Mukhtār had been sent to them by al-Mahdī. But al-Mukhtār, hearing of Ibrāhīm's terms, wished to make a compromise with him, and could only do so, given his followers' belief in his mission, in an indirect way. After only three days, he and some of his followers went to Ibrāhīm, bearing a letter purporting to be from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to Ibrāhīm. In the letter Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, calling himself al-Mahdī, asked Ibrāhīm to recognize al-Mukhtār and support him. In return, besides God's reward, Ibrāhīm would have the command of the cavalry

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1. Die Religios Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.77.

2. Ansāb, V, p.222; Dīnawarī, p.296; Tab., II, p.609 (citing Al-Sha'bī); Kūfī, I, fol. 266a.

3. Ansāb, V, p.222; Tab., II, p.609 (citing al-Sha'bī); Kūfī, I, fol. 226a (citing al-Sha'bī).



and invading armies, and all the lands lying between Kūfa and Syria, which would be conquered by him. If he did not comply with this letter, he would meet a terrible fate.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Sa'd and Dīnawarī<sup>2</sup>, however, give a somewhat different version of this event. They mention only one meeting, in which the letter was presented by al-Mukhtār to Ibrāhīm. Dīnawarī inserts here that the lead seal of the letter was new, as if it had been sealed the night before. They also write that all those with al-Mukhtār bore witness to Ibrāhīm that they saw Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya writing the letter; and the latter accepted it without any objection. Moreover, in the version of al-Dīnawarī, the beginning of the letter makes no mention of the title Mahdī. It seems that the detailed accounts of Ṭabarī and Ibn A'tham<sup>3</sup> are taken from Balādhurī, the more accurate version, since it is more likely that al-Mukhtār would not have written any letter to Ibrāhīm had the latter not refused the first time.

There are many reasons to make us doubt the authenticity of this letter, although Wellhausen<sup>4</sup> has accepted it as genuine. Firstly, there is the offer which Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya made to Ibrāhīm, giving almost the same terms

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.222-3; Ṭab., II, pp.610-11; Kūfī, I, fols. 266a-266b.
  2. Sa'd, V, pp.72-3; Dīnawarī, pp.296-7 (citing al-Sha'bī).
  3. Ṭab., II, p.609ff.; Kūfī, I, fol. 266a.
  4. Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.77.

as Ibrāhīm had demanded for his support to al-Mukhtār. Another factor is the brief span of time which lapsed between the first meeting with Ibrāhīm and al-Mukhtār's presentation of the letter. Moreover, the wording of the letter itself was suspicious even to Ibrāhīm, who asked al-Mukhtār for an explanation; he also made al-Sha'bi approve the witnesses' claim<sup>1</sup> that the letter was written by Ibn al-Hanafiyya. The witnesses and al-Mukhtār's explanation satisfied Ibrāhīm, and he placed his services in the hands of al-Mukhtār, by attending meetings in the latter's house.

Al-Mubarrad<sup>2</sup> says that before giving his support to al-Mukhtār Ibrāhīm wrote to Ibn al-Hanafiyya for his approval, and the latter - as usual - answered him in a vague way, which Ibrāhīm interpreted as

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1. Ansāb, V, p.223 (citing al-Sha'bi); Tab., II, pp.611-12 (citing al-Sha'bi); Kufī, I, fols. 266a-267b. Dīnawarī (pp.297-98) reports that al-Sha'bi wanted to make sure whether the evidence given by witnesses was right or not, and he therefore asked them one by one; they all confirmed that they saw Ibn al-Hanafiyya write the letter. Unsatisfied with this, he went to Abū 'Amra Kaisān. On asking him the same question, he said that he did not see Ibn al-Hanafiyya writing the letter, but they believed al-Mukhtār to be trustworthy. At this, the story says, al-Sha'bi became sure that the letter was fabricated by al-Mukhtār, and therefore left Kūfa for Hījāz, and did not take part in the wars of al-Mukhtār. However, the fact that al-Sha'bi did not leave Kūfa, but remained there until the end of al-Mukhtār, makes us doubt the story, which W. Rajkowski, (*Early Shī'ism in Iraq*, p.174, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1955), accepted as true; while K. Fariq accepted the first part of the story only. See *The Story of an Arab Diplomat*, p.77, SII, III, no.2, 1966.

2. Mubarrad, III, p.267.

permission to join al-Mukhtār. It seems difficult to accept this account since it is not confirmed in either the early or the late sources. Moreover, the answer which Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is said to have written to Ibrāhīm is the same as that he gave to the Kūfan delegation when they inquired about al-Mukhtār's claim, to represent him, which makes us think that al-Mubarrad had confused the two events.

The date of the revolt had been decided by al-Mukhtār and his followers, as being Thursday 14th Rabī' al-Awwal, 66/Tuesday 19th October 685.<sup>1</sup> Al-Mukhtār's preparations for the revolt again did not escape the eyes of Iyās ibn Muḍarib, the police officer of the governor Ibn Muṭī', but it seems that he did not know the exact date. He advised the governor to send a reliable man to every "Jabbāna"<sup>2</sup> in Kūfa to secure the city; he sent his own son Rāshid ibn Iyās to al-Kūnāsa, the Hamdān Jabbānat al-Ṣūbai', Khath'am Jabbānat Bishr, Kinda their own Jabbāna, Al-Azd Jabbānat al-Ṣā'idiyyīn, Murād their own Jabbāna, Shamir ibn dhūl Jawshan Jabbant Ṣālim and Shabath ibn Rab'ī to al-Sabkha.<sup>4</sup> It is only Madhhiḡ and Asad who did not join the forces of the governor; the former, perhaps, because of Ibn al-Ashtār,

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1. Ansāb, V, p.223; Tab., II, p.613 (citing Abū Mikhnaḡ); Kūfī, I, fol. 267a; Kāmil, IV, p.178.
  2. Places in Kūfa were used as cemeteries. Each tribe had its own Jabbāna. See Nihāya, I, pp.236-237; Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-ʿArab, XIII, p.85; Al-Zubaidī, Tāj al-ʿArūs, IX, p.159; K. Al-Janābī, Takhtīt al-Kūfa, p.93, Baghdad, 1969.
  3. A name of a place in Kūfa. Ibn Manẓūr, op. cit., IV, p.199; Al-Zubaidī, op. cit., IV, p.235.
  4. A name of a place in Kūfa. Ibn Manẓūr, op. cit., III, p.24; Al-Zubaidī, op. cit., II, p.261.

while being in the same "Khums"<sup>1</sup> with Madhij led Asad to take the same position. All these measures were taken on Monday, three days before the exact date of the revolt.

On Tuesday evening 12th Rabi' al-Awwal, 66/17th October, 685, Ibrāhīm, accompanied by about a hundred of his followers hiding their weapons went, as usual, to al-Mukhtār's house. He made no attempt to avoid the governor's forces, perhaps to show off his bravery. On his way there he met Iyās ibn Muḍarib with the Shurṭa, who tried to prevent him from passing and demanded his surrender to the governor. Ibrāhīm answered this by killing the police officer, Iyās, and his police followers were dispersed. Ibrāhīm continued to march towards al-Mukhtār's house. There he reported the death to al-Mukhtār and showed him the head of Iyās; al-Mukhtār was pleased to hear of it. But this action caused him to declare the revolt one day earlier than planned. Al-Mukhtār informed his followers that the revolt was already starting, by ordering a fire to be lit in the reeds, and by the shouting of the slogan: "Ya Maṣṣūr Amit", (يا منصور أمت) and "Ya Li Thārāt al-Ḥusain"<sup>2</sup> (يا لثارات الحسين).

The fact that al-Mukhtār used as his war-cry "Ya Maṣṣūr Amit" is not without significance. Al-Maṣṣūr is a messiah awaited by the Yemenites to restore

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1. Tribal organization made by Ziyād ibn Abīh. See Masignon, *Explication Du Plan de Kufa (Iraq)*, p.345, MM, III, 1935-40.
  2. Ansāb, V, p.225; Ṭab, II, pp.215-16 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 2a-2b.

their power.<sup>1</sup> Since the Yemenites were the dominant element among the supporters of al-Mukhtār, this war-cry was therefore an appeal to their messianic aspirations.<sup>2</sup>

The death of Iyās ibn Muḍārib aroused the Rabī' a tribe and they threatened to avenge him by killing Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar. But it would appear from the verses of Surāqa ibn Mirdās,<sup>3</sup> that the Yemenite tribes were strong enough to protect him.

Al-Mukhtār tried to cause as little blood-shed as possible. This strategy can be seen clearly in his instructions to Ibrāhīm. He ordered him to try his best to bypass the governor's forces, and to fight only when he was attacked.<sup>4</sup> On Wednesday morning 13th Rabī' al-Awwal, 66/18th October, 685, al-Mukhtār with his followers were stationed near "Dair Hind" in the Sabkha.<sup>5</sup> His army contained about five hundred mawālī under their own Amīr.

To counter him the governor sent Shabath ibn Rabī' al-Tamīmī with three thousand men to al-Sabkha,<sup>6</sup> and Rāshid ibn Iyās with four thousand

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1. Shams, p.103; Al-Hamdānī, Iklīl, VIII, p.58.
  2. B. Lewis, The Regnal Titles of the First 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, p.17, ZHPV, 1958.
  3. Dīwān, pp.82-3; Ansāb, V, 267 (citing Madā'inī).
  4. Tab., II, p.617 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).
  5. Ibid., II, pp.622 & 627 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 3b.

from the Shurṭa to Jabbānat Murād. Consequently al-Mukhtār sent Ibrāhīm with nine hundred men to meet Rāshid, Nu'aim ibn Hubaira with three hundred cavalry men and six hundred infantry against Shabath, and Yazīd ibn Anas with nine hundred men as his vanguard. Shabath's troops began to retreat in front of al-Mukhtār's forces. In order to incite them Shabath shouted "... Why are you fleeing from your slaves?" Hearing this, the soldiers came back and fought hard against the mawālī who were in the army of al-Mukhtār.<sup>1</sup> They put to death any of the mawālī whom they captured while they allowed the 'Arab captives to flee,<sup>2</sup> and therefore al-Mukhtār's army found itself in a difficult position. At this time the governor sent re-enforcements, two thousand under Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Rūwaim. Al-Mukhtār's cavalry was under Yazīd ibn Anas, while he himself was leading the infantry.

Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm had defeated Rāshid ibn Iyās and killed him, and then came to the help of al-Mukhtār. This had the effect of encouraging the followers of al-Mukhtār and discouraged those of Shabath. Then the Governor sent Ḥassān ibn Fā'id ibn Bakr al-'Absī with about two thousand men to help his troops in preventing Ibrāhīm from reaching al-Mukhtār. But Ḥassān was defeated and Ibrāhīm continued his march. As soon as Ibrāhīm appeared, Shabath's troops began to retreat until they reached ibn Muṭī', who was in despair after receiving the news of the death of Rāshid ibn Iyās.

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1. Tab., II, p.623 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 3b.

2. Tab., II, p.623; Kūfī, II, fol. 3b.

Then the defeated forces gathered again in the Kunāsa, but were again defeated by Ibrāhīm. The governor and the Ashrāf flew to the palace where they were besieged for three days. On the evening of the third day, Ibn-Muṭī' left the palace and went to the house of Abū Mūsā , al-Ash'arī, where he hid himself,<sup>1</sup> while the Ashrāf asked Ibrāhīm for "Amān". They were granted it and submitted themselves to al-Mukhtār.

Al-Mukhtār spent the night in the palace and next morning ascended the minbar in the mosque where he delivered a speech, after which he received the "bai'ā" from the Ashrāf and the others. This "bai'ā" was based on the Book of God (Qur'ān) and the Sunna of the prophet; the revenge of "Ahl al-Bait"; war against "al-Muḥillin" (those who regard the blood of the Prophet's family as licit, i.e. the Umayyads and their supporters); the defence of the weak; the war with those who sought war with him, and peace with those who sought peace with him.<sup>2</sup>

Kūfa was a suitable place for a revolt at this time. Its population was a mixture of different elements: 'Arabs, mainly from South Arabia, Persians, Syrians, Nabateans, Christians and Jews.<sup>3</sup> The 'Arabs also differed among themselves. While the Tamīm and Ṭay were Beduins, Rabī'a (Bakr and Asad) were semi-Beduin and Christian-influenced, while 'Abd al-Qais were Persian

1. Ansāb, V, pp.226-28; Ṭab., II, pp.625-31 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b and 6a.

2. Ansāb, V, p.228; Ṭab., II, p.633; Kūfī, II, fol. 5b.

3. Futūḥ, p.280; Nihāya, IV, p.208; V, p.9, Ibn Manzūr, op. cit., VII, p.411; Al-Zubaidī, op. cit., V, p.329; Malāṭī, II, p.2034; Muntakhabāt, p.101; K. al-Janābī, op. cit., p.41ff.

influenced.<sup>1</sup> To these differences in culture must be added the differences in creeds. No wonder, therefore, that the population of Kūfa was turbulent, dissatisfied and opposed to the Government and the Ashraf.<sup>2</sup>

As for the nature of the support which al-Mukhtār received in Kūfa, at this stage of his revolt it was mainly from the Arabs. Members from nearly all the Arab tribes of al-Kūfa participated in it. Members of al-Nakha', Hamdān, Banū Nahd, Shākir, Khath'am, Shibām, Asad, Ḥanīfa, 'Abs, Wāliba of al-Azd, Muzaina, Bakr and Aḥmas,<sup>3</sup> are said to have been his supporters.

This major Arab support was due not only to their Shī'a sentiment but also to their opposition to the Ashraf. It was only a small number of the mawālī who joined al-Mukhtār at this time, only five hundred.<sup>4</sup> This small number of mawālī supporters may have been due to the strong hold of their masters, the Ashraf, upon them. This becomes clear when we consider that their support to al-Mukhtār grew rapidly after the seizure of al-Kūfa and the "bai'a" of the Ashraf. Moreover, they were doubtless encouraged by his success in gaining power. It is not true, though, as Brocklemann<sup>5</sup> has said, that this victory in

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1. Massignon, op. cit., p.342, MM, III, 1935-40.

2. B. Lewis, The Origins of Ismā'īlism, pp.25-26.

3. Ansāb, V, p.227; Tab., II, p.619ff; Kūfī, II, fols. 2a-5b.

4. Tab., II, p.627. Their number at this time in Kufa was forty thousand. See Dīnawarī, p.307.

5. Brockelmann, History of the Islamic Peoples, p.79, London, 1964.



Kūfa represents the victory of the Persians over the 'Arabs. Even in the later stages of the revolt, al-Mukhtār did not defend the mawālī because they were Persians, but because they had many social grievances (Du'afa') which al-Mukhtār could rectify to gain their support for his own ends.

Since he took hold of al-Kūfa he tried to reconcile all parties and show justice and peace to everyone. To Ibn Muṭī', who was hiding himself, al-Mukhtār sent one hundred thousand dirhams and asked him to leave Kūfa.<sup>1</sup> This however may have been due to the fact that he was a relative of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭab, whose son 'Abdullah was married to Ṣafya, the sister of al-Mukhtār. It is probably to gain the moral support of his brother-in-law, or at least his silence, that al-Mukhtār sent expensive gifts to Ibn 'Umar. It may be added that Ibn Muṭī' and al-Mukhtār had been friends during the time that al-Mukhtār was in al-Hijāz.

In the treasury of Kūfa he found nine million dirhams. He gave those who took part in the seizure of the palace five hundred each: they were three thousand, eight hundred men. For six thousand who joined him later, he gave two hundred each.<sup>2</sup>

In his attempt to show toleration to all parties, he did not allow his

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1. Ansāb, V, p.228; Dīnawarī, p.299; Ya'qūbī, II, p.308; Ṭab., II, p.633 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 6a (he makes it ten thousand only).
  2. Ansāb, V, p.228; Ṭab., II, p.634 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

followers to kill anyone.<sup>1</sup> He tried his best to make himself popular to the Ashrāf by offering them the most important posts. He appointed ‘Abdallah ibn Kāmil al-Shākiri, as a police officer (‘Alā Shurtathi), Muḥammad ibn ‘Umair ibn ‘Uṭarid he appointed as governor of Adhrbiḡān; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sa‘īd ibn Qais, governor of Mūsīl; Ishāq ibn Mas‘ūd governor of al-Madā‘ in and Jūkhī, Qudāma ibn Abī ‘Īsa ibn Rabī‘a al-Naṣrī - a confederate of Thaqīf - governor of Bihqubādh al-A‘lā; Sa‘īd ibn Ḥudhaifa ibn al-Yamān, governor of Ḥalwān; Ḥabīb ibn Munqidh al-Thawrī, governor of Bihqubādh al-Asfal,<sup>2</sup> and Yazīd ibn Najba al-Fazārī, governor of Ray and Dastihī.<sup>3</sup> He also gave the Ashrāf pre-eminence in his court<sup>4</sup> and even asked Muḥammad ibn al-Ash‘ath to work as a judge for him.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Al-Mundhur ibn Hassān al-Dabbī after paying homage to al-Mukhtār, was killed with his son by one of al-Mukhtār's enthusiastic followers on the grounds that he was one of the Jabbārīn (tyrants). When al-Mukhtār heard of this, he very strongly opposed it. See Ansāb, V, p.228; Tab., II, p.633 (citing Abū Mikhnaḡ).
  2. This, however, either did not take place or was of a short duration, for we see him on the 22nd Dhul Ḥajja, 66/20th. July, 686, on the "Rub'" of Hamdān in the army of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar, who went to fight Ibn Ziyād.
  3. Ansāb, V, p.228; Dīnawarī, p.300; Tab., II, p.634-35. However, the list of Dīnawarī differs from that of Tabarī in these respects: he gives the governorship of Arjān to Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Tamīmī, and makes ‘Abdallah ibn al-Ḥārith the governor of Mahīn and Hamadān. He mentions the name of Ibn Mālīk al-Bakrāwī as the governor of Ḥalwān and Masbdān, and Zahr ibn Qais as the governor of Jūkhī.
  4. Tab., II, pp.633.
  5. Ansāb, V, p.229.

Nevertheless, al-Mukhtār also worked to defend the weak, as he had stated in his "bai'a". According to Islām all Muslims are equal regardless of their nationality or race.<sup>1</sup> In practice, in this period the 'Arabs did not allow the non-'Arab Muslims the rights which Islām granted them. The 'Arabs monopolized the high posts in society, such as the offices of judge, or of leadership in the army or in prayer.<sup>2</sup> They considered only the army and commerce as fit professions for themselves; the mawālī, on the other hand, were mainly engaged in manual labour, in agriculture or industry. Although the mawālī were used as infantry in the army, they were not enrolled on the register (Dīwān), and therefore not usually paid. Even when they were paid, it was at a rate far below that of their 'Arab masters.<sup>3</sup> The social inferiority of the mawālī was regularized by the custom that they should not be addressed by a "Kunya", but by their own name or "Laqab", with a few exceptions.<sup>4</sup> Neither were they allowed to marry 'Arab women, and the children of an 'Arab man and a mawala woman did not receive an equal inheritance to that of the pure-'Arab children; according to the principle of "Kafā'a" the 'Arabs were equal only to the 'Arab

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1. Qur'ān, XLIX, 13.

2. 'Iqd, III, pp.412-13.

3. Futūḥ, p.457; Ya'qūbī, II, p.213; Kūfī, II, fols. 159b-160a, Agh., VI, p.5, Nihāya, I, p.363; Imtā', III, p.183.

4. 'Iqd, III, p.413.

and the mawālī to the mawālī.<sup>1</sup> The mawālī must ask their patron's consent before choosing a wife. The exemption from the 'Aṭā', and the inferior social status of the mawālī under the Umayyads, made many of them ready to join any opposition movement against the regime and the 'Arab sovereignty, in a claim for equality and justice. They, as well as some 'Arabs, especially those unprivileged ones, not only participated in the Shī'ī movements but also associated themselves with the Khārījites.<sup>2</sup> Professor al-Dūrī<sup>3</sup>, however, thinks that these examples in our sources which show an inferior social status for the mawālī were the exceptions rather than the rule, and therefore do not represent the reason for their resentment to 'Arab rule. The real cause in his view was born of an anti-'Arab, racial pride, in their Persian descend (Shu'ūbī). While not denying this factor, especially in the 'Abbāsīd and later Umayyad periods, it is difficult to see it as the main reason in the period under consideration. The fact that the 'Arabs did allow the odd mawālī in the dīwāns, and the rare examples of them holding the office of army leader or judge were of a short duration only, and not without opposition on the part of the 'Arabs. That only a few managed to achieve a high position is clear on the consideration that the number of mawālī in Kūfa was

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1. Al-Hindī, Kanz al-'Ummāl, VIII, pp. 247-48; Sarakhsī, al-Mabṣūṭ, V, pp. 22-9; also 'Iqd, III, p. 417; Mubarrad, IV, p. 16; Agh., XIV, p. 150 (citing al-Zubāir ibn Bakkar); Nihāya, III, p. 112.
  2. Ansāb, fol. 216; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 262; Goldziher, op. cit., p. 130.
  3. Al-Judhūr al-Tārīkhiyya lil Shu'ūbiyya, p. 15ff., Beirut, 1962.

forty-thousand.<sup>1</sup>

These social disabilities had a religious offshoot, very relevant in this context. The almost universal attraction of oppressed peoples to messianic and millenarian ideas<sup>2</sup> operated here also: both 'Arab and non-'Arab (mawālī) among the unprivileged groups turned to their pre-Islamic beliefs and grafting them on to their new faith, gave rise to the belief in a Mahdī who would "fill the earth with justice and equity as it is now filled with tyranny and oppression".<sup>3</sup> Al-Mukhtār exploited this religious need with

1. The number of the mawālī at the time when Kūfa was built, was four thousand. Prior to the battle of Ṣiffīn their number increased to eight thousand. During the time of al-Mukhtār and especially before the battle of Jabbānt al-Subai', they were forty thousand. See *Futūḥ*, p.279; *Dīnawarī*, p.307; *Ṭab.*, II, pp.371-72. There is a chance narrative in *Balādhurī* (*Ansāb*, fol. 499a, citing *Mada'inī*) and repeated by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (*ʿIqd*, III, p.314), which makes it possible that for once that *Dīnawarī* is not exaggerating. The narrative says that the number of the mawālī became so large that it raised the attention of both the caliph Mu'āwīya and his governor Ziyād. The figure must have been of a big proportion of the population, when we consider that the number of the Muqātila in the city was only eighty thousand, according to *Ṭab.*, (II, p.433, citing 'Umar ibn Shabba).
2. Lanternari, *The Religions of the Oppressed*, p.4. (Translated by Lisa Sergio), London, 1963; M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, p.108; (translated by Ephraim Fischhoff), London, 1966; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, p.20ff., London, 1962.
3. B. Lewis, *An Apocalyptic Vision of Islamic History*, p.308, *BSOAS*, XIII, 1950.

his claims to represent Ibn al-Ḥanifiyya, as the Mahdī; this he backed up by attempting to reform the social situation.

Al-Mukhtār made it legal for the mawālī to share the fai' with the 'Arabs, and to ride on horses;<sup>1</sup> He even appointed a mawlā of 'Uraina, Kaisān, Abū 'Amra, as the leader of his personal guard.<sup>2</sup> This was possibly because he trusted him more than the others and because he was the most influential of his mawālī supporters. Al-Mukhtār also declared that any slave who came to him would be free.<sup>3</sup> No wonder, therefore, the number of the mawālī and slaves among his supporters became very large. After starting as only five hundred at the beginning of the revolt,<sup>4</sup> nearly all of the mawālī had joined him at the height of his power. Credit must be given to al-Mukhtār for his early understanding that the mawālī were an important political element in the society.<sup>5</sup> Al-Mada'ini<sup>6</sup> reports that al-Mughīra ibn

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1. Tab., II, pp. 649 ff. (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ) & 724; Kūfī, II, fols. 15b, 18a.
  2. Ansāb, V, p. 229; Tab., II, p. 634 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).
  3. Ansāb, V, p. 267 (citing Mada'ini).
  4. See p. 99.
  5. Wellhausen, Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p. 95.
  6. Ansāb, V, p. 223.

Shu'ba was the first to attract the attention of al-Mukhtār to the Persians' pro-ʿAlid sympathies and to the fact that by addressing them by the name of the family of the Prophet, he could make out of them a great political power.

Why did al-Mukhtār, after proclaiming his desire to revenge the killing of al-Ḥusain, abandon this on achieving power, and instead work to reconcile both the Ashrāf and the mawālī? It seems that al-Mukhtār was more concerned to achieve a stable state of affairs in the city, than he was to carry out the revenge. For the Syrian army under ʿUbaidallah ibn Ziyād was advancing towards Mūsīl, and he was threatened by Ibn al-Zubair both from Baṣra and Ḥijāz. It would have been political myopia to involve himself in a civil war by attacking the Ashrāf, in addition to these outside threats.

There was a contradiction, however, in an attempt to reconcile both the Ashrāf and the mawālī. By relying on the mawālī and considering them as equal to their masters, al-Mukhtār was undermining the whole social structure on which Ashrāf domination was based. The vested interests of al-Ashrāf were opposed to the mawālī's interests and al-Mukhtār could only reconcile the former by betraying the latter and dishonouring his promises. When al-mawālī noticed al-Mukhtār trying to reconcile the Ashrāf, they resented it, and communicated this to Abū ʿAmra Kaisān, their chief and the head of the personal guard of al-Mukhtār, saying, "(al-Mukhtār) is too courteous to the ʿArabs (Ashrāf) and see how indifferent he is to us." When this reached al-Mukhtār, he answered, "Tell them not to be upset, for you

belong to me and I to you." Then he recited the following verse from the Qur'ān: "We shall punish the criminals" (إِنَّا مِنَ الْمُجْرِمِينَ سَنَعْمُوهُ) This answer satisfied the mawālī for his hostile intentions to the Ashrāf. Al-Mukhtār realized that he could not for long ingratiate himself with both sides. Shabath ibn Rab'ī communicated the grievances of the Ashrāf to al-Mukhtār prior to the battle of Jabbant al-Subai' 66/686: the most important of these was that al-Mukhtār had made the mawālī and slaves<sup>2</sup> equal to the Ashrāf. When al-Mukhtār replied with the question, that if he gave them back their mawālī and again distributed the fai' among them alone, would they promise to fight Ibn al-Zubair and the Syrians with him, they refused to do so. This indication of the hostility of al-Ashrāf towards him confirmed him in his choice of relying on mawālī support, rather than on al-Ashrāf. It seems it was the political circumstances which determined al-Mukhtār's choice to take the side of the mawālī, and not any genuine conviction on his part, as Levi Della Vida presumes.<sup>3</sup>

There are two accounts of al-Mukhtār's activities in Basra: the first is that of Baladhūri,<sup>4</sup> and the second that of Madā'inī in Tabarī<sup>5</sup> which

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1. Tab., II, p. 634 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).
  2. Tab., II, p. 650; Kūfī, II, fol. 15b.
  3. E. I.,<sup>1</sup>, (al-Mukhtār).
  4. Ansāb, V, pp. 244-45.
  5. Tab., II, pp. 680-83 (citing al-Madā'inī).



is repeated briefly by Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwairī.<sup>1</sup> According to Balādhurī, al-Muthannā ibn Mukhariba al-‘Abdī<sup>2</sup> met al-Mukhtār after the return of the Tawwābūn from the battle of ‘Ain al-Warda, in Kūfa, where he paid homage to him. He told him that he had supporters in Baṣra, and if al-Mukhtār agreed, he would go there to enroll them for him. According to Ṭabarī, al-Muthannā himself took part in the battle of ‘Ain al-Warda. When he returned from the battle to Kūfa, he found al-Mukhtār in prison, and he paid homage to him there. On al-Mukhtār's release, he ordered al-Muthannā to go to Baṣra to rally the people for him. Al-Muthannā's answer to the call of Sulaimān to participate in the battle, although he arrived too late, is probably the reason for al-Mada’inī saying that he actually fought at ‘Ain al-Warda. Whether it was al-Mukhtār's or al-Muthannā's idea that the latter should go to Baṣra to rally the people, is not an important point, for in either case it was certainly with al-Mukhtār's approval.

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1. Kāmil, IV, pp.201-2; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 25-6.

2. Al-Muthannā ibn Mukhariba al-‘Abdī (from the tribe of ‘Abd al-Qais), was an old partisan of ‘Alī who fought for him in the battle of the Camel and supported him against Mu‘āwiya. He also joined the movement of al-Tawwābūn, but like the Shī‘a of Madā’ in did not reach the battle field in due time. See Ansāb, fol. 176a (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); fols. 179a, 207b; V, p.211 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Ṭab., II, p.568 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

Balādhurī then writes that al-Muthannā went to Baṣra, and took a mosque as the centre of his activities there. Ṭabarī writes that he made his camp near Madīnat al-Rizq, a place not mentioned by name in Balādhurī. Both narratives then say that the governor, al-Qubā', hearing of the subversive activities of al-Muthannā sent against him 'Abbād ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabṭī, a police officer from the tribe of Tamīm, with a troop of horsemen. Ṭabarī also states that 'Abbād was accompanied by Qais ibn al-Haitham, who stationed himself in the Sabkha. In Balādhurī's account, 'Abbād was defeated by one of al-Muthannā's generals. In Ṭabarī, al-Muthannā and most of his followers left their camp and stationed themselves opposite 'Abbād's forces. The latter left Qais ibn al-Haitham there, while he and a small group of followers went to Madīnat al-Rizq, and managed to place thirty of his men on the roof of the city wall. He ordered them to wait until they heard the shout, "Allāhū Akbar", a sign that battle had begun. Then 'Abbād returned to al-Sabkha to join Qais ibn al-Haitham, and attacked al-Muthannā. Meanwhile those on the roof of Madīnat al-Rizq, hearing the shouting, attacked the remnant of al-Muthannā's forces there. This led to the defeat and flight of al-Muthannā's followers both in Sabkha and Madīnat al-Rizq.

To return to Balādhurī's narrative, after 'Abbād's defeat, the Governor sent another general against al-Muthannā, al-Aḥnaf ibn Qais, the Tamīmite chief, with men from Muḍar, hostile to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais, a Yemenite tribe. This action caused tribal rivalries to flare up again, and

the situation became critical when two tribes sided with al-Muthannā; the tribe of Bakr ibn Wā'il led by Mālik ibn Mismā', and al-Azd led by Ziyād ibn 'Amr al-'Atkī. This support was not because of their sympathy for al-Muthannā's cause but because of tribal passion and the loyalty (Ḥamīyya) felt by them towards the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais.<sup>1</sup> The 'Abd al-Qais and Bakr were living near to each other in the north of Baṣra.<sup>2</sup> But 'Abdallāh ibn Muṭī' and 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn al-Ḥarith ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī (the two ex-governors of Ibn al-Zubair in Kūfa) intervened as peace makers between the two opposing parties and a settlement was reached, specifying that al-Muthannā should leave Baṣra and return to Kūfa.

According to Ṭabarī, this settlement was reached as a result of the Governor sending al-Aḥnāf ibn Qais and 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Makhzūmī to al-Muthanna, after Ziyād ibn 'Amr al-'Atkī had threatened the governor's forces with attack by the Azd if he did not withdraw from the quarter of 'Abd al-Qais. The government's forces under 'Abbād were advancing on this quarter where al-Muthannā and his followers had taken refuge after their defeat by 'Abbād.

The account of Ṭabarī would seem to be more likely than that of Balādhurī in the matter of whether or not 'Abbād was defeated: al-Muthannā's

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1. This perhaps was because of the "Ḥilf" (alliance) between al-'Azd and Bakr. *Naqā' iṣṭ*, II, p.729; *Ansāb*, IV, p.105; Ṭab., II, p.446 (citing Abū 'Ubaida).

2. Al-'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, p.291, *Sumer*, VIII, ii, 1952.

forces were numerically far weaker than the governor's, and the tribes, apart from the small 'Abd al-Qais, were all anti-Shī'i; which makes Balādhurī's account of 'Abbād's defeat seem suspicious. Moreover, al-Madā' inī is a reliable authority on matters concerning the region of Baṣra and the Eastern Provinces,<sup>1</sup> while the narrative of Balādhurī comes to us without any chain of authority.

As for the nature of the support which al-Muthannā found in Baṣra, it is stated in Balādhurī that when al-Muthannā made the mosque the centre of his activities, the Shī'i gathered round him.<sup>2</sup> Ṭabarī, however, says that those who came to him were only his own people from the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais.<sup>3</sup> Neither of our sources mention any mawālī support for al-Muthannā's movement: this may be because the 'Arabs had a strong hold on them in Baṣra. Baṣra in its political attitude was described as 'Uthmānite, that is, anti-'Alid. This anti-'Alid feeling was made very clear by al-Aḥnaf ibn Qais, the head of the Tamīm tribe, the most influential tribe in Baṣra. "We have tried Āl Abī Ṭālib, and found that they neither have any experience of government, nor strategy in war. Also it is impossible to get money from them."<sup>4</sup> This,

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1. E.I.<sup>1</sup>, (al-Madā' inī); J. 'Alī, *Mawārid Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, p.157; *LMII*, I, i, 1950.

2. *Ansāb*, V, p.244.

3. *Ṭab.*, II, p.681 (citing Madā' inī).

4. *Jahīz*, al-'Uthmāniyya, p.96; *Ansāb*, fol. 499b (citing Madā' inī); about al-Aḥnaf ibn Qais and the Umayyads, see *Ṭab.*, II, pp.96-7.

however, does not mean that the Baṣrans were pro-Umayyad or even sincerely pro-Zubairid, as Dr. Fariq thinks.<sup>1</sup> It seems that they were ready to give their support to whoever paid the most. Ziyād ibn ‘Amr al-‘Atkī, the head of the Azd tribe, received a letter from al-Mukhtār promising him a reward in this life and the next if he would support him; Ziyād replied, "We do not fight on credit, but with whoever pays cash."<sup>2</sup> When ‘Abd al-Malik paid the Baṣrans more than Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubair, they betrayed the latter, the tribes of al-Azd, Bakr ibn Wā’il and Banū Tamīm going over to ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>3</sup>

The tribes of Baṣra at this time, were: Ahl al-‘Āliya, (among whom was Bahila which was known for its anti-‘Alid feeling), Tamīm, Bakr ibn Wā’il, al-Azd and ‘Abd al-Qais.<sup>4</sup> Only the latter, a numerically weak, politically unimportant tribe, was pro-‘Alid.

Al-Mukhtār endeavoured to seize Baṣra for many important reasons. By seizing Baṣra with its dependences, al-Mukhtār would be master of the whole of Iraq and the Eastern Provinces, thus depriving Ibn al-Zubair of the rich resources of the area, and confining him to the poor country of al-Hijāz, which could hardly support itself. Egypt had already been lost for Ibn al-Zubair, being controlled by the Umayyads. The conquest of Baṣra would

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1. op. cit., p.50, SII, IV, no.1, 1967.

2. Ansāb, V, p.245; Tab., II, p.683 (citing Madā’inī).

3. Tab., II, p.218.

4. Al-‘Alī, al-Tainzīmāt al-Ijtima‘iyya wal Iqtisādiyya fil Baṣra fil Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī; Idem, Khīṭat al-Baṣra, p.288, Sumer, VIII, ii, 1952.  
p. 290ff ;

give al-Mukhtār new followers to increase his military forces which might have enabled him to face both Ibn al-Zubair and ‘Abd al-Malik. It was a favourable time for an attempt by al-Mukhtār to seize Baṣra for the city was continually threatened by the Kharijites so that the governor's position there was constantly undermined. Moreover, Ibn al-Zubair was unable to send forces against al-Mukhtār because he was hard-pressed by ‘Abd al-Malik, and was preparing to face him. Finally, the seizure of Baṣra was part of the strategy of al-Mukhtār, for it would be expedient for him to create new difficulties for Ibn al-Zubair, without the necessity of distracting his attention from consolidating his power in Kūfa.

However, he did not succeed: al-Muthannā was driven out of the city along with his followers. But the event was not without significance. It proved to al-Mukhtār that the centre of his power was Kūfa, where the majority of the Shī‘a were. It also enabled him to understand the attitude of the tribal chiefs in Baṣra. It is therefore in this light that we must see the letters al-Mukhtār sent to al-Aḥnāf ibn Qais, Mālik ibn Mismā‘ and Ziyād al-‘Atkī,<sup>1</sup> in which he offered them a reward in this world and the next for their support.

In order to pave the way for his complete sovereignty over al-Iraq, it was necessary to avoid open hostility with Ibn al-Zubair. Al-Mukhtār, therefore, entered into a secret diplomatic correspondence with him. First,

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1. Ansāb, V, p.245; Tab., II, p.683 (citing Madā’inī).

al-Mukhtār tried to justify his act of expelling ‘Abdallah ibn Muṭī‘, by accusing him of working in the interests of ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>1</sup> He also wrote to Ibn al-Zubair reminding him of the terms on which he paid him homage, saying that he had kept his promises, although Ibn al-Zubair did not. If Ibn al-Zubair still wanted his support, al-Mukhtār was still ready to offer it to him.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn al-Zubair, however, wanted to test the sincerity of al-Mukhtār, so he sent a new governor to al-Kūfa. He was ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī. When the news of this appointment reached al-Mukhtār through one of his spies at Mecca, he sent Zā’ida ibn Qudāma with five hundred cavalry men under the command of Musāfir ibn Sa‘īd al-Na‘īfī, and seventy thousand dirhams, twice what the new governor had spent on his journey. He told Qudāma to order the new governor to take the money and go back to Ibn al-Zubair. If he refused, he was to show him the cavalry and tell him there were another hundred such squadrons in the rear.<sup>3</sup> At first ‘Umar refused to take the money and tried to carry out Ibn al-Zubair's orders, but when he saw the cavalry, he consented, took the money and went to Baṣra as Ibn Muṭī‘ had done.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sa‘d, V, p.110; Ansāb, V, p.266 (citing Madā’ini).
  2. Tab., II, p.687 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.203; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 26.
  3. Ansāb, V, pp.243-44; Tab., II, p.687 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).
  4. Ansāb, V, pp.243-44; Tab., II, pp.287-88 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

Political circumstances once again forced al-Mukhtār to act in an underhand way, in asking for the friendship of Ibn al-Zubair and at the same time, trying to undermine the latter's authority. Since he feared that his double-dealing with Ibn al-Zubair would provoke him to send an army from Baṣra against him, al-Mukhtār tried once again to win Ibn al-Zubair's confidence, especially since he was also threatened with the advance of the Syrian army. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān had sent an army to al-Ḥijāz to liquidate Ibn al-Zubair. Al-Mukhtār tried to exploit this opportunity by writing to Ibn al-Zubair offering him his help against 'Abd al-Malik. Ibn al-Zubair's reply to this was, "If you are loyal to me, then I do not mind your bringing an army to my country. But you should first bring me the homage of the Kūfans. When I receive this, then I shall believe in your loyalty and will refrain from attacking your territory. Send me your army quickly and order it to proceed to Wādī al-Qurā and to fight the army of Ibn Marwān."<sup>1</sup>

Al-Mukhtār then sent three thousand men, among whom only seven hundred were Southern 'Arabs, the rest being mawālī, under the command of an 'Arab leader, Shurahbīl ibn Wars, from the tribe of Hamdān, also a Southern tribe.<sup>2</sup> He ordered him to proceed to al-Medīna, station himself there, and then to write to al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār intended that when Ibn Wars' army had occupied Medīna, he would then send a governor for the city

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1. Ansāb, V, p.246; Tab., II, pp.688-89 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

2. Tab., II, p.689 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).



and order Ibn Wars to proceed towards Mecca to lay seige to the city. But Ibn al-Zubair saw through this double-dealing. He sent 'Abbās ibn Sahl ibn Sa'd with two thousand men and ordered him to recruit more men on his way from the Arab tribes dwelling there. He ordered him to annihilate al-Mukhtār's army if they did not comply with his orders. The two armies met at al-Raqīm near Medīna. Ibn Sahl asked the commander of al-Mukhtār's army to proceed to Wādī al-Qurā to fight the Syrian army. Ibn Wars answered naively that he had been ordered to go first to Medīna and then report to his master for further instructions. It seems that Ibn Wars was either completely ignorant of al-Mukhtār's plot, or else that he was not clever enough to act out the deception when faced with Ibn Sahl. In both cases, al-Mukhtār can be blamed for his choice of general. Ibn Wars' answer was enough for 'Abbās ibn Sahl to understand the strategy of al-Mukhtār, and he therefore led a surprise attack on the army of Ibn Wars. Most of the army, and Ibn Wars himself, were killed. Most of those who fled died of thirst or hunger on their way back to Kūfa.<sup>1</sup> Following this defeat, al-Mukhtār wrote to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, saying that he had sent an army to defend him against his enemies and to conquer the countries for him. But the army of al-'Mulhid' ibn al-Zubair had deceived them and taken them by surprise. He asked the permission of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to send another army to Medīna to fight Ibn al-Zubair if he,

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1. Ansāb, V, pp. 246-47; Tab., II, pp. 689-91 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥaf).

Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, would make it clear to the people of Medīna that al-Mukhtār was working with his consent. As usual, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's reply to al-Mukhtār was cold and non-committal: he said that he did not approve of bloodshed, and advised him to obey God instead of causing war. If he (Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya) did want to fight, he would find the people ready to rally round him without al-Mukhtār's help.<sup>1</sup> This answer certainly disappointed al-Mukhtār, who was hoping to get recognition from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to legalize his authority. However, he did not let himself become discouraged by this answer and told the Shī'a that al-Mahdī had asked him to follow a policy which would bring them prosperity and righteousness, and wipe out all treachery and impiety.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, circumstances eventually forced Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to ask help from al-Mukhtār. When Ibn al-Zubair proclaimed himself Caliph in 64/683, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās, with their followers, refused to pay him homage on the grounds that he had not yet been unanimously recognized as Caliph. For the same reason they did not pay homage to Ibn al-Zubair's rival, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. When all attempts to make Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya change his mind failed, Ibn al-Zubair decided to obtain the "bai'a" from him by force. In the year 66/685, Ibn al-Zubair detained Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his family, with seventeen men from his supporters among the

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1.       Ansāb, V, pp.246-47; Ṭab., II, p.689ff. (citing Abū Mikhnaf);  
          Kāmil, IV, pp.204-5.
  2.       Ṭab., II, p.693.

the notables of al-Kūfa, inside al-Ḥaram and threatened them with death if they did not pay homage within a specified time.<sup>1</sup>

Why did Ibn al-Zubair decide at this time to threaten Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya with death, if he would not pay him homage? It would seem that he was afraid that the people in Ḥijāz and Iraq would pay homage to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, especially after success achieved by al-Mukhtār in Kūfa using his name.

Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya sent a letter to al-Mukhtār informing him of the situation and asking his urgent help. Al-Mukhtār was waiting for just such an opportunity and used the request for help as a demonstration of his recognition by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. Al-Mukhtār summoned the Shīʿa of Kūfa and showed them Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's letter. He immediately sent four thousand men to rescue him, and to give him a large sum of money. But he was careful this time, and did not let Ibn al-Zubair know of this expedition, to avoid a repetition of the disaster of Ibn Wars, and also to prevent Ibn al-Zubair from killing Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his followers before they could be rescued. He wished also to avoid any unnecessary military engagement with Ibn al-Zubair in order to save his strength to meet the Syrians.

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1. Sa'd, V, pp.73-4; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, 258 (he gives the year 65/684 and makes the place of detention Shi'b Banū Hāshim); Akhbār, fols. 43b-44a; Ansāb, fols. 261a-261b; Ya'qūbī, II, pp.311-12; Tab., II, p.693ff. (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 10a-10b; ʿIqd, IV, p.514; Murūj, V, p.179 (citing ʿUmar ibn Shabba); Agh., VIII, p.32; ʿAsākīr, XV, fol. 369b. (citing Khalīfa).

Wellhausen,<sup>1</sup> arguing exclusively on the evidence that the forces sent by al-Mukhtār to rescue Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya held wooden clubs in their hands on their entry into al-Ḥaram, concludes that they were mawālī, though led by Arabs. But we are told that the holding of wooden clubs instead of swords was according to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's instructions, since he would not tolerate the use of weapons in the Holy Shrine.<sup>2</sup> This is supported by the fact that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had always spoken against the use of violence, and also that it was only on their entry into al-Ḥaram that they held these wooden clubs.<sup>3</sup> They also carried hidden swords.<sup>4</sup> This however, does not mean that they were all 'Arabs; it only means that one cannot argue that they were mawālī simply because they carried clubs. More will be said about these clubs in the context of the Khashabiyya.

The first hundred and fifty men who reached Mecca succeeded in saving Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. But Ibn al-Zubair did not yield until the rest of al-Mukhtār's men reached Mecca. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya forbade his followers and those who came to his aid, to fight Ibn al-Zubair and distributed the money he had received from al-Mukhtār amongst them. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya then left

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1. Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.81.
  2. Akhbār, fol. 47a; Tab., II, p.694 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 11b; Kāmil, IV, p.207.
  3. Sa'd, V, p.78; Ansāb, V, pp.246-47; Tab., II, p.692 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 12a; Kāmil, IV, p.205.
  4. Akhbār, fols. 47a;47b; Tab., II, p.694 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Ansāb, fol. 262a; Kūfī, II, fol. 11b.

Mecca and went to al-Ṭā'if. It seems that he did not go to Kūfa because he distrusted al-Mukhtār and his ambitions to gain power. It may be that he was afraid to come to Kūfa, since al-Mukhtār, fearing that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya would arrive and put an end to the activities of his more extreme followers, had spread a rumour around the city that a true Mahdī could not be harmed if struck with a sword.<sup>1</sup> Besides, it may have been that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya did not want to incur the hostility of both Ibn al-Zubair and 'Abd al-Malik, especially since the future of al-Mukhtār was still uncertain. Furthermore, he no doubt suspected the Kūfans' support after the terrible experiences his father and his brothers had had with them.

After the battle of 'Ain al-Warda 65/684, in which Sulaimān ibn Ṣurad and his Tawwabūn were massacred, 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād continued to march against Iraq. He engaged with Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, who was holding al-Jazīra, first against Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and then against Marwān's son, 'Abd al-Malik. After a siege of about a year, Ibn Ziyād failed to conquer al-Jazīra, and marched on towards al-Mūsīl on his way to Kūfa. 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sa'īd ibn Qais al-Hamdānī, the governor of al-Mūsīl, reported this to al-Mukhtār, informing him that, because of his lack of men, he had

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1. Sa'd, V, p.74 (citing 'Atiyya al-'Awfī); Zubairī, pp.43-4 (but he gives the name of 'Ubaidallah ibn 'Alī instead of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya); 'Uyūn, p.242 (citing al-Asma'ī); Ansāb, V, pp.269-70 (citing al-Asma'ī); Bagh., pp.33-4; al-Rāzī, I'tiqādāt Firqat al-Shī'a, p. 62; Dhahabī, III, pp.296-97.

left Mūsīl to go to Takrīt, and was awaiting al-Mukhtār's orders. On receiving this news, al-Mukhtār sent three thousand cavalrymen, all of them 'Arabs, under the command of Yazīd ibn Anas al-Asadī.<sup>1</sup> They met the Syrian army on 19th of Dhū'l-Hajja, 66/17th of July 686, at dawn about five "farsakhs" from Mūsīl. The result of the battle was victory for Yazīd ibn Anas, despite the fact that he was ill at the time and that his army was half the size of that of the Syrians. However, Yazīd died that evening, after ordering all the Syrians captured in the battle to be killed. His death greatly demoralized his followers, who thought it wise to withdraw because their small number would not be able to stand against the eighty thousand

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1. Ansāb, V, p.230; Dīnawarī, p.300 (he gives the army of Yazīd as 20,000). But: they withdrew after Yazīd's death because of their small number, and the fact that Ibn Ziyād sent against them double of their number, makes us discount Dīnawarī's view. Moreover, apart from the exaggeration in number, his narrative is brief and unconvincing, for he writes that 'Abd al-Malik fought Yazid and killed him and his followers, while none of the other sources gives the slightest hint of this. See Tab., II, pp.642-4 (citing 'Awāna and Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 13b-14a, (here the number is given as 4,000 because 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sa'īd Ibn Qais al-Hamdānī with 1,000 men joined the army of Yazīd.) It is important to point out here that the army of Yazīd consisted only of 'Arabs without any mawālī. (Kūfī, II, fol. 14a. هتلى النخبى لثلاثة آلاف من سادات فرسان العرب) The account of Tab., (II, p.647), confirms this, although Wellhausen, referring to it, but misunderstanding the text, writes that the army was mostly mawālī. See Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.81.

Syrian troops marching against them.<sup>1</sup>

This withdrawal of the Kūfan army had a serious reaction in Kūfa. Rumours spread that 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād had defeated al-Mukhtār's army, killed his leader, Yazīd ibn Anas, and with his huge army was advancing on Kūfa. Hearing this, al-Mukhtār ordered his general, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashfar, to march against Ibn Ziyād with an army of seven thousand men, and ordered him to join up with the army of Yazīd.<sup>2</sup> The situation of al-Mukhtār, with the Syrians advancing against him and a large number of his troops away to fight them, encouraged the Ashraf to defy him and prepare to overthrow his rule. They condemned al-Mukhtār for appointing himself ruler without their consent, for raising the status of their mawālī by mounting them on horses, giving them salaries and letting them share in their revenues (fai').<sup>3</sup> Shabath ibn Rab'ī al-Tamīmī, a senior tribal chief, was their spokesman, and carried these complaints to al-Mukhtār. The latter promised to remove every grievance brought to his attention. Shabath complained about the slaves who had deserted their masters and joined him, and the mawālī, saying, "You have taken away from us our mawālī whom God conferred upon us as booty with this country, whom we freed hoping for God's reward. But you went far beyond

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1. Tab., II, p.648 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 15a; Kāmil, IV, p.190.
  2. Ansāb, V, p.231; Tab., II, p.649 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 14b-15a.
  3. Dīnawarī, p.306; Tab., II, p.649 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 15a-15b; Kāmil, IV, p.190.

this, and made them share in our revenues". Al-Mukhtār answered, "If I give you back your mawālī and distribute the revenue between you alone, will you then fight with me against the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubair? Will you make a solemn agreement to this effect in God's name?"<sup>1</sup> The Ashrāf refused to do this. Al-Dīnawarī,<sup>2</sup> however, has a different account of this occasion. He says some of the Ashrāf met al-Mukhtār and reproached him for his policy towards the mawālī. Al-Mukhtār answered them, "When I showed you honour, you became supercilious; and when I made you governors, you embezzled the revenue. I found these Persians ('Ajam) more obedient, loyal and honest than you." Even allowing for Dīnawarī's Persian prejudices, this account shows al-Mukhtār's opinion of both the mawālī and the Ashrāf, while Ṭabarī's account indicates the total lack of trust in al-Mukhtār felt by the Ashrāf.

Was al-Mukhtār sincerely prepared to make those concessions to the Ashrāf, in order to get their confidence, and dispense with his faithful mawālī? It seems that in making this offer, al-Mukhtār was banking on their hostility to him leading them to refuse. He was using the concessions as an expedient to appease the Ashrāf temporarily, while so many of his troops were away. We shall see him using the same tactics when the revolt of the Ashrāf came into the open.

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1. Ṭab., II, p.650 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 15b; Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p.16.
  2. Dīnawarī, p.306.



While the Ashraf were speculating on the possibilities of revolting, one of them, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mikhnaf, advised against it at that time, for he said, 'Al-Mukhtār is bound to be overthrown either by the Syrians or the Baṣrans. Besides, you are disunited, and his side unites the mawālī with many of the 'Arabs. Your mawālī and slaves hate you more than him, and therefore, if you attack al-Mukhtār, you will have to face the bravery of 'Arabs and the hatred of the Persians."<sup>1</sup> His advice was rejected and eventually he joined them in revolt against al-Mukhtār. His advice, however, does show the presence of many 'Arabs on al-Mukhtār's side.

Following the departure of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar to fight the Syrian army under 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād, the Ashraf rose in arms and occupied the important places in the city. 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sa'īd ibn Qais al-Hamdānī<sup>2</sup> with the tribe of Hamdān occupied Jabbānat al-Subai'; Zuh'r ibn Qais al-Ju'fī and Ishāq ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath seized Jabbānat Kinda; Ka'b ibn Abī Ka'b joined with Bashīr ibn Jarīr ibn 'Abdallah and the Bajīla to occupy Jabbānat Bishr; 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mikhnaf occupied Jabbānat Mikhnaf; Shamir ibn dhūl Jawshan occupied Jabbānat banū Sallūl and Shabath ibn Rab'ī occupied al-Kūnāsa, joined by Mudar. Hajjār ibn Abjar al-'Ijlī and

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1. Tab., II, p.651 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols. 15b-16a; Kāmil, IV, p.191; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 18.

2. Previous governor of al-Mukhtār in Mūsīl. This explains how strong were the tribal feelings among the 'Arabs of the time.

Yazid ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Rūwaim with the Rabī'a tribe occupied al-Sabkha, and 'Amr ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaidī occupied Jabbānat Murād.<sup>1</sup> To face al-Mukhtār's horsemen, the tribes of Kinda, al-Azd, Bājila, al-Nakha', Khath'am, Qais and Taim al-Rabbāb gathered in Jabbānat Murād; while Rabī'a and Tamīm gathered in Jabbānat al-Ḥashshāshīn.<sup>2</sup> This gathering of the tribes in two places was a favourable opportunity for al-Mukhtār, for it enabled him to concentrate his rather small forces against only two fronts.

Al-Mukhtār succeeded in recalling Ibn al-Ashtar with his forces to Kūfa, but while he awaited his arrival, he spared no effort to reconcile the Ashraf. He sent to them, promising to comply with their wishes. When they demanded his abdication, on the grounds that his claim to represent Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was false, al-Mukhtār suggested that they should send a deputation to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to ask him about this point.<sup>3</sup> By this, he tried to achieve two important things; first, to cause a difference of opinion between them and secondly, it was an attempt to make time until Ibn al-Ashtar arrived. Nevertheless, al-Ashraf did not accept the proposal, and decided to take their chance to get rid of him. On the other hand, al-Mukhtār adopted the strategy

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.231-2; Tab., II, pp.651-2 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Kūfī, II, fol. 16a.
  2. Dīnawarī, p.307; Tab., II, p.652 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī).
  3. Tab., II, p.653 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 16a-16b; Kāmil, IV, pp.192-3; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.18.

of increasing the hatred between the mawālī, (40,000 at this time) and their masters, by telling them that they were fighting for their own cause, identical with his. He told the mawālī that the Ashrāf would never have risen in arms against him, had he not adopted their cause and worked to improve their conditions.<sup>1</sup>

Only three days after his departure, Ibrāhīm returned to Kūfa. The next day, Sunday the 24th Dhū'l-Hajja 66/22nd July, 686,<sup>2</sup> the Ashrāf gathered their forces in three places: Muḍar was in al-Kunāsa, ahl al-Yemen in Jabbānat al-Subai' and Rabī'a in the Sabkha. Al-Mukhtār, aware of tribal rivalries, asked Ibrāhīm to fight Muḍar in al-Kunāsa, while he himself went to fight Ahl al-Yemen, for he thought Ibrāhīm might well balk at fighting his own people, the Yemenites.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Mukhtār stationed himself near Jabbānat al-Subai' and sent Aḥmar ibn Shumait al-Bajlī al-Aḥmasī and 'Abdallāh ibn Kāmil al-Shākiri to Jabbānat al-Sūbai' from different directions. He also informed them that Shibām would attack al-Jabbāna from behind.<sup>4</sup> Ibrāhīm was able to defeat

1. Dīnawarī, pp.306-7.

2. Wellhausen, Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.83.

3. Ansāb, V, p.232; Tab., II, p.655 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 16b.

4. From the Yemenite tribes there were only Hamdān fighting al-Mukhtār, for Madhhij Ibrāhīm's tribe did not take part on either side, while Shibām was with al-Mukhtār. See Wellhausen, Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.83.

Muḍar while Rabīʿa left the battle-field, either because of the defeat of Muḍar and al-Yemen or because of their baiʿa to al-Mukhtār.<sup>1</sup> Then Ibrāhīm came to the rescue of al-Mukhtār, whose forces were in a difficult position.

The rivalry and jealousy between the Ashrāf soon came into play, as Ibn Mikhnaf had expected, and contributed to the victory of al-Mukhtār. It is reported by Abū Mikhnaf in Ṭabarī<sup>2</sup> that when Ahl al-Yemen gathered in Jabbānat al-Subaiʿ, they disagreed about who would lead the prayer, for no tribe liked to pray behind a man from another tribe. In the battle of Jabbānat al-Subaiʿ, ʿAbdallah ibn Qurād al-Khathʿamī, though he remained faithful to al-Mukhtār, yet he refused to spill the blood of his fellow tribesmen.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, when Abu'l-Qulūṣ and his followers from the tribe of Shibām entered Jabbānat al-Subaiʿ shouting, "Ya Li Thārāt al-Husain" as their slogan, Yazīd ibn ʿUmair ibn Dhū Murrān al-Hamdānī answered this by shouting, "Ya Li Thārāt ʿUthmān". This had the effect of rallying the Shīʿa among the Ashrāf to al-Mukhtār's side. For example, Rifāʿa ibn Shaddād al-Fityānī, who had once been a follower of al-Mukhtār, but who was with the Ashrāf in this revolt, on hearing the ʿUthmānite slogan, became extremely angry and said, "I will not fight on the

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1. Ansāb, V, p.232; Dīnawarī, p.307.

2. Ṭab., II, p.654.

3. Ibid., II, p.657.

same side as those who seek the vengeance of 'Uthmān." But in the end, his tribal feelings were stronger than his Shī'ī feelings and he carried on fighting against al-Mukhtār.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, we find 'Abd al-Mu'min, the son of Shabath ibn Rab'ī, fighting courageously with al-Mukhtār against his father.<sup>2</sup>

At last had come the time to annihilate the killers of al-Ḥusain. In doing so, al-Mukhtār achieved two goals. The first and most important was that he fulfilled his promise to avenge al-Ḥusain, according to which homage had been paid to him. The second was that he inflicted punishment upon those Ashraf who revolted against him after all his attempts to reconcile them had proved abortive.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he was encouraged by the remark said to have been made by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya criticizing al-Mukhtār: "It is surprising that al-Mukhtār claims to be the avenger of our family and yet the killers of al-Ḥusain are his associates and companions."<sup>4</sup> Al-Mukhtār killed all those he could find who had taken part in the murder of al-Ḥusain, and tore down the houses of those who managed to flee to Baṣra.<sup>5</sup> At first, many innocents were attacked either due to personal antagonisms, or because of the hatred felt by

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1. Ṭab., II, p.659.

2. Ibid., II, p.654.

3. Ibid., p.667 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

4. Imāma, II, p.19; Ansāb, V, p.237; Dīnawarī, p.300; Ṭab., II, p.604 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol.8b.

5. Ṭab., II, p.660; Kūfī, II, fol.17a; Murūj, V, pp.173-4.

the mawālī to the Ashrāf; but al-Mukhtār took over the supervision of prisoners and killed only those who were truly guilty of al-Husain's death.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever his reasons, al-Mukhtār did perform his duty by annihilating the killers of al-Husain, among whom were Shamir ibn Dhu'l-Jawshan, 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās,<sup>2</sup> and many others. This campaign of revenge had two important consequences. On one hand, ten thousand Ashrāf and non-Shī'ī 'Arab leaders managed to escape to Baṣra, where Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair was the governor for his brother 'Abdallāh; these Ashrāf played an important part in inciting Muṣ'ab against al-Mukhtār and was an effective factor in accelerating his death. On the other hand, it increased his popularity among the Shī'a and also pleased Ibn al-Hanafiyya, whose recognition al-Mukhtār was seeking.<sup>3</sup>

A story is reported in many sources<sup>4</sup> but differently phrased, about a poet

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1. Tab., II, p.660.
  2. It is reported that when al-Mukhtār killed 'Umar ibn Sa'd, he hired female mourners and ordered them to wail at the door of his house, to prepare the public opinion for the next step. Imāma, II, p.19; 'Iqd, IV, pp.404-5. If this account is true, it shows how al-Mukhtār used such matters as a means of propaganda. When he razed to the ground the houses of Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī and of Asmā' ibn Khārīja al-Fazārī, he used the building materials of the two houses for rebuilding the houses of Muslim ibn 'Aqīl and Hujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī. See Tab., II, p.680; Kūfī, II, fols. 12b-13a. Certainly this act was highly appreciated by the Shī'a of his time.
  3. Kūfī, II, fol. 8b.
  4. Surāqa ibn Mirdās, Dīwān, p.74ff.; Maḥāsin, p.128; 'Uyūn, p.244-5; Ansāb, V, p.234; Dīnawarī, p.309; Tab., II, p.663 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols.17a-17b; 'Iqd, II, pp.170-71; Agh., VIII, pp.31-2; 'Asākir, VI, p.69; Kāmil, IV, pp.196-7.

named Surāqa ibn Mirdās al-Bāriqī, who was seized as a prisoner after the battle of Jabbānat al-Subai'. The story says that when Surāqa was brought to al-Mukhtār, he denied that he was captured by the followers of al-Mukhtār, but by the angels whom he claimed to have seen fighting on white horses at the side of al-Mukhtār. The latter ordered him to announce this publicly from the pulpit. Then al-Mukhtār summoned Surāqa and told him that he knew very well that he had seen nothing and he ordered him to leave Kūfa. Surāqa left for Baṣra where he composed satirical verses against al-Mukhtār. If this story, which looks like a piece of imaginary literature, is true, it should be considered as one of al-Mukhtār's expedients to strengthen his cause among his followers, especially the mawālī who were more readily prepared to believe in anything told them by al-Mukhtār.

On the 24th Dhul Ḥajja, 66/22nd July, 686,<sup>1</sup> two days after he returned from the battle of Jabbānat al-Subai', al-Mukhtār despatched Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar with an army against 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād, who was now advancing with his army from Muṣil towards Kūfa.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mukhtār instructed Ibrāhīm, saying, "Fear God in all your acts public and private, be quick in your march and attack

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1. According to Tab., (II, p.667), the battle of Jabbānat al-Subai' was on the 24th Dhul Ḥajja, 66. On the other hand, he says (p.701), that al-Mukhtār sent Ibrāhīm only two days after the battle, that is 26 Dhul Ḥajja 66. Again (on p.700), he says that Ibrāhīm left Kūfa on the 22nd Dhul Ḥajja. This, however, is corrected by the narrative in Balādhurī (Ansāb, V, p.248), where he states clearly that Ibrāhīm left Kūfa on the 24th Dhul Ḥajja 66.

2. The number of his army has been differently given. According to Balādhurī (Ansāb, V, p.248), it was of nine thousand men; according to Dīnawarī (p.301),

your enemy on reaching him without delay".<sup>1</sup> Al-Mukhtār also accompanied the army until it reached the Euphrates and promised them victory. The army of Ibrāhīm was predominantly composed from the mawālī,<sup>2</sup> although there were also 'Arabs from the tribes of Madhhiġ, Kinda, Asad, Tamīm and Hamdān,<sup>3</sup> apart from Tamīm they are all Southern 'Arabs. The two armies met on the river Khāzir about five "farsakhs" from Mūsīl. The date of the battle is given by Ibn Qutaiba and confirmed by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr,<sup>4</sup> as the 10th Muḥarram, 67/6th August, 686. The army of al-Mukhtār eventually won a victory over the Syrians, and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, the one most responsible for al-Ḥusain's murder, al-Ḥusain ibn Nūmair al-Sakkūnī, Shurahbīl ibn Dhūl Kilā' and many other Syrian notables, were killed while those who fled were drowned.

Several factors contributed to the victory of Ibrāhīm, though his army was small compared with that of Ibn Ziyād. Apart from Ibrāhīm's bravery and military

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=it was of thirty thousand men. Finally, Kūfī (II, fol. 9a), makes it seventeen thousand, ten thousand of whom were horsemen and the rest were infantry. Since the figures given by Dīnawarī are always exaggerated, and as it is stated in Ṭab., (II, p.705), that Ibrāhīm's army was small, Balādhurī's figure seems more convincing.

1. Ṭab., II, p.702 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 19a.
2. Dīnawarī, p.302; Mubarrad, II, pp.61-2; Ṭab., II, p.709 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); If the account of Kūfī (II, fol. 19a) is true, the ten thousand cavalry said to have been with Ibrāhīm, were not necessarily all 'Arabs, for al-Mukhtār allowed the mawālī to mount on horses.
3. Ansāb, V, p.248; Ṭab., II, p.701 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 24a.
4. Ma'ārif, p.152; Dhahabī, II, p.375; Bidāya, VIII, p.283.



genius, there was the religious fanaticism of the Shī'a a face-to-face with Ibn Ziyād, the killer of al-Ḥusain; this fanaticism was enflamed by a speech delivered by Ibrāhīm before the beginning of the battle.<sup>1</sup> Another reason for the victory was the treason of the Qaisites in the army of Ibn Ziyād. It is reported<sup>2</sup> that 'Umais ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Sūlamī, who was with the Qaisites on the left wing of Ibn Ziyād's army, visited Ibn al-Ashtar and informed him that because of the battle of Marj Raḥiṭ, they had no love for the Marwānids. Therefore, 'Umais promised Ibn al-Ashtar to flee when the war began. But the sources do not agree when this treason took place. According to Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwairī<sup>3</sup>, 'Umais only fled when he saw the Syrian army about to be routed, while at first he fought courageously. Ṭabarī, inserts here that when 'Umais saw the retreat of the Syrians, he sent a message to Ibrāhīm, "Shall I come to your help now?" Ibrāhīm answered, "Not before the zeal of the Shī'a against the Syrians has calmed down". On the other hand, another account in Balādhurī, Dīnawarī, Mubarrad and Mas'ūdī<sup>4</sup> report that when the war began 'Umais shouted "Ya Li Thārāt Marj

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1. Ansāb, V, p.249; Ṭab., II, pp.710, 713 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 25a.
  2. Ansāb, V, pp. 248, 268 (citing Madā'inī); Dīnawarī, p.310; Mubarrad, III, p.268; Ṭab., II, p.708 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 23b; Murūj, V, p.223 (he states that 'Umais was on the right wing and not on the left); Kāmil, IV, p.215; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 33.
  3. Ansāb, V, pp.249-50; Ṭab., II, p.713 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.217; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 34.
  4. Ansāb, V, pp.313-4 (citing 'Awāna); Dīnawarī, p.202-3; Mubarrad, III, p.269; Murūj, V, p.223.

Rāhiṭ" and left the battle field with the Qaisites, and thus gave the battle to the Iraqis. However, Ibn A'ṭham<sup>1</sup> has yet another account of this event. He reports that when the two armies camped near each other Ibrāhīm sent to 'Umar ibn al-Ḥubāb to come to his side, offering him security "amān" and promising him a reward. Therefore, 'Umar deserted Ibn Ziyād with one thousand men from his Qaisite kinsmen and their mawālī, joining Ibn al-Ashtar, who warmly welcomed him and distributed money among his followers. Though this account of Ibn A'ṭham is not confirmed by any other source, and it is not in itself convincing, yet it agrees with other accounts, confirming that 'Umar betrayed Ibn Ziyād and helped to bring about the victory of the Iraqis. Moreover, the narrative of Abū Mikhnaf in Balādhurī, Ṭabarī and its repetition by Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwairī, represents the Iraqī tradition which tried to show the victory of Ibrāhīm as being achieved without any outside intervention, especially from the Syrian side. This view could be seen very clearly in the narrative of Madā'inī in Balādhurī, and also the account of Dīnawarī, Mubarrad and Mas'ūdī.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Balādhurī, Dīnawarī and Ibn al-Athīr<sup>3</sup> preserve an important piece of information, which confirms our argument that such treason did take place; it says that after the battle of

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1. Kūfī, II, fol. 23b.

2. Ansāb, V, p.268 (citing Madā'inī); Dīnawarī, pp.202-3; Mubarrad, III, p.269; Muru'j, V, p.223.

3. Ansāb, V, p.251 (citing al-Haytham ibn 'Adī); Dīnawarī, p.304; Kāmil, IV, p.218.

Khāzīr, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar confirmed Zufar ibn al-Hārith as the governor of Qarqisyā' and 'Umais ibn al-Hūbāb was appointed as governor of Kafr Tūta and Ṭūr' Ābdīn. Why should Ibrāhīm make these appointments except as a reward for the help that 'Umais and the Qaisites had rendered him in the battle of Khāzīr? Thus from all these arguments it seems impossible to accept Wellhausen's<sup>1</sup> view that there was no treason and, even if there was, it came after the battle had been decided for the Iraqis. Wellhausen is depending here almost exclusively on Ṭabarī and Abū Mikhnaḥ's narrative, i.e. the Iraqī tradition.

It is reported by al-Mubarrad<sup>2</sup> that when Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar marched from Kūfa to meet the Syrians, al-Mukhtār walked with him for two "farsakhs". He gave some of his courtiers white doves ordering them to set them free if Ibrāhīm won a victory, and to send them back to him if the battle went the other way. At the same time he told the Shī' that God will send them angels in the form of white doves to help them against the Syrians. Dozy<sup>3</sup> accepted this story and regarded it as a way in which al-Mukhtār would get information about the result of the battle. Rajkowski<sup>4</sup> also accepted the story

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1. Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.84.

2. Mubarrad, III, p.267 ff.

3. Dozy, op. cit., p.22ff.

4. Early Shī'ism in Iraq, p.178, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1955.

but gave it the different explanation of being one of al-Mukhtār's methods of impressing his followers. The story seems to be, as Wellhausen<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, a superstition derived from the story of Surāqa ibn Mirdās.<sup>2</sup> The fact that no confirmation of it has been reported in our sources and that it only occurs, without a chain of authority, in al-Mubarrad, who is known to have had Khārijite inclinations, is enough to make us suspect it.

When al-Mukhtār accompanied Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar on his departure to fight the Syrians, at Dair 'Abd al-Rahmān, they met some enthusiastic Shī'īs with an empty chair placed on the back of a grey mule in a very solemn procession, escorted by the sādīn (guardian), Hawshab al-Bursumī. They were circling it and asking God for victory.<sup>3</sup> This scene, however, caused a reaction from the moderate Shī'a, such as Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar, who disapproved of it. As we shall see later, it was one of the reasons which led him to abandon al-Mukhtār. On the other hand, it added to the zeal of the extremists and gave them courage to meet their Syrian adversaries.

Two narratives tell us of the origin of this Kursī (chair) and its cult.

1. Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionen und Parteien im alten Islam, p.84.

2. See p.130

3. Ansāb, V, pp.247-8; Ṭab., II, pp.700-2; Kāmil, IV, p.212; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.32; Bidāya, VIII, p.278.

The one is Abū Mikhnaḥ's in Balādhurī and Ṭabarī<sup>1</sup> which depicts al-Mukhtār as responsible for the presence of the kursī. The second is that of Ṭufail ibn Ja'da ibn Hubaira in Ṭabarī<sup>2</sup> which shows al-Mukhtār only giving his approval to the idea. Both are repeated by Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwairī<sup>3</sup>. Abū Mikhnaḥ says that al-Mukhtār asked Āl Ja'da ibn Hūbaira<sup>4</sup> to give him the chair of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib. They denied that they had such a chair, but when he insisted on it, they brought him one and claimed that it was the chair of 'Alī. However, Ṭufail's narrative differs in that he says one day he was in need of money and saw a chair with a neighbouring oil dealer. He took it after it had been cleaned. He went to al-Mukhtār and informed him that it was the chair on which his father Ja'da ibn Hubaira used to sit and that once it had belonged to 'Alī. Al-Mukhtār ordered the chair to be brought and gave Ṭufail twelve thousand dirhams for it.

The most significant point here is, who were the guardians of the chair? and who were those encircling it in prayer? The answer may help us to trace the origin of this cult. It is reported by Abū Mikhnaḥ in Ṭabarī<sup>5</sup> that the first

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.241-2; Ṭab., II, p.706.

2. Ṭab., II, pp.702-3.

3. Kāmil, IV, p.214; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 46.

4. Um Ja'da was Um Hāni' the sister of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib.

5. Ṭab., II, p.607.

sadin of the chair was Mūsā the son of Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, and then Ḥawshab al-Bursumī. Both belonged to Yemenite tribes. Those who were surrounding and worshipping the chair were also Yemenites, members of the tribes of Shibām, Nahd, Khārif and Shākīr.<sup>1</sup> The fact that in pre-Islamic times certain South Arabian clans acted as guardians of sanctuaries, and that guardianship passed from generation to generation, and conferred high status (Sh‘araf)<sup>2</sup>, explains why all the sādins of the Kursī were South Arabians. Moreover, among all South Arabian tribes the custom of carrying their tribal emblems with them when going to war was very common. For they believed that these emblems would give them victory and thus increase the valour of the warriors. Therefore, on the day of Dhū Qār we find Banū Bakr ibn Wa‘il expressing their joy by walking round the Qubba of Ḥanzala ibn Tha‘laba before they held their meeting.<sup>3</sup> Thus the chair here acted exactly like a tribal emblem in giving victory and increasing the valour of the warriors. It is also significant that the word "minbar" was borrowed by old Arabic from the Ethiopic by way of South Arabia, and that the first ‘Arabs to whom tradition attributes the use of the "minbar" were Yemenites.<sup>4</sup> It is not surprising,

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1. Ibid., II, pp.705-6.

2. R.W. Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, p.147ff., London, 1894; R.B. Serjeant, Haram and Ḥawṭa, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia, pp.41-2, MTH, 1962.

3. Agh., XX, p.136.

4. J. Sauvaget, La Mosquée Omeyyade de Medine, p.141, Paris 1947; E. Tyan, Institution du Droit Public Musulman, I, p.488ff., Beirut, 1954; Sourdel, Questions de Ceremonial ‘Abbāsīde, p.130, REI, XX, 1961.

therefore, that the victory of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar made them worship it even more. It is clear, therefore, that the chair was not al-Mukhtār's idea and in this case, we may prefer the narrative of Ṭufail to that of Abū Mikhnaf.

Nevertheless, the presence of the chair was used by al-Mukhtār as a means of getting more support from the extremist Shī'a and encouraging the warriors. Certainly to them it was a holy chair, since they believed it to be 'Alī's, and would give them victory.

A new menace faced al-Mukhtār shortly after his victory over the Syrians. This danger came from Baṣra, where Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair was governor for his brother 'Abdallah.<sup>1</sup> After seizing Kūfa and defeating the Syrians, al-Mukhtār had become as formidable a foe of Ibn al-Zubair as 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. His territories embraced al-Kūfa and its Sawād and also the whole Jazīra. 'Abd al-Malik kept Syria and Egypt, while Ibn al-Zubair was confined to the poor country of al-Ḥijāz and Baṣra, and was threatened by both the presence of al-Mukhtār in Kūfa and the Khārijites in Persia. The Kūfan refugees in Baṣra, ten thousand in number,<sup>2</sup> led by Shabath ibn Rab'ī and Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī played an important role in inciting Muṣ'ab against al-Mukhtār and urging him to end his activities in Kūfa.<sup>3</sup> But Muṣ'ab would not yield to their request unless

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1. Ansab, V, p.231; Ṭab., II, pp.665, 688.

2. Dīnawarī, p.310.

3. Ansab, V, pp.251, 270 (citing Madā'inī); Dīnawarī, pp.310-11; Ṭab., II, p.718 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p.220; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 36.

al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, with the troops of Baṣra, stopped fighting the Khārijites in al-Ahwāz, Fārs and Kirmān, and joined his forces. This was because of al-Muhallab's military competence, and because his troops were composed of the best fighters of Baṣra. However, al-Muhallab was unwilling to leave his post as the governor of Fārs, or to stop the war against the Khārijites, and only after Muṣ'ab despatched Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath to him, with the claim that he had come as the messenger of the women and children of the Ashraf<sup>1</sup>, would al-Muhallab agree to join the army of Muṣ'ab. He appointed his son Yazīd as his deputy in Fārs.<sup>2</sup> The presence of al-Muhallab in this campaign re-enforced the army of Muṣ'ab with men, money and equipment, military experience and leadership. Muṣ'ab also was joined by 'Ubaidallah ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib for personal reasons.<sup>3</sup> Before leaving Baṣra, Muṣ'ab had secretly sent 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mikhnaf to Kūfa in order to provoke the people against al-Mukhtār.<sup>4</sup> Hearing of Muṣ'ab's preparations for war, al-Mukhtār delivered a speech in which he promised his followers victory. He followed this by raising an

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1. Ansāb, V, p.252; Dīnawarī, p.310; Ṭab., II, p.719 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 13a.
  2. It is said that al-Muhallab concluded a temporary truce with the Khārijite leader Qatrī ibn al-Fujā'a. See Dīnawarī, p.310.
  3. Sa'd, V, pp.87-8; Zubairī, pp.43-4; Dīnawarī, p.311 (the name given here is 'Umar ibn 'Alī).
  4. Ansāb, V, p.253; Ṭab., II, p.719 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p.220.



army under the command of Aḥmar ibn Shumait<sup>1</sup>. Al-Mukhtār's army met the Basrans in al-Madhār<sup>2</sup>. Al-mawālī in al-Mukhtār's army were under the command of Abū 'Amrā Kaisān, a mawlā of 'Uraina.<sup>3</sup> Before the battle had started 'Abdallāh ibn Wahab al-Jushamī, who was on the left wing of Ibn Shumait's army, (and who, it seems, could not bear to see the mawālī mounted on horses and wanted to get rid of them as a reprisal for what they had done against their masters) advised his commander-in-chief to ask the mawālī to fight on foot on the excuse of their alleged readiness to flee;<sup>4</sup> the latter followed this advice. Al-Mukhtār's army suffered a crushing defeat in the battle and Aḥmar ibn Shumait was killed.<sup>5</sup> Those who fled were pursued by Muṣ'ab's cavalry, especially by the Kūfan refugees who killed everyone they caught, to revenge themselves. Only a

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1. The number of Ibn Shumait's army is given by Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, V, p.272) as forty thousand; while Dīnawarī (p.311) makes it sixty thousand; but Kūfī (II, fol. 28a) says it was only of three thousand.
  2. It is reported by Wāqidī in *Tab.*, (II, p.748) that al-Mukhtār told Ibn Shumait to meet Muṣ'ab in al-Madhār, because he had heard that a Thaqīfite will gain victory in al-Madhār. But that Thaqīfite was al-Ḥajjāj and not al-Mukhtār. This anticipatory character of this account shows that it is of a later fabrication.
  3. *Ansāb*, V, p.253; *Tab.*, II, p.721 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).
  4. *Tab.*, II, p.721 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kāmil*, IV, p.221.
  5. Although it is not mentioned in our sources, yet it seems that Abū 'Amrā Kaisān was also killed in this battle, for we do not hear about him after this defeat in al-Madhār.

few reached Kūfa and communicated the news of the defeat to al-Mukhtār. The date of this battle has not been given in our sources: one might assume it to be about the middle of 67/686.<sup>1</sup>

The defeat of al-Mukhtār's army in al-Madhār had very serious consequences, both on his own part and on that of his followers. When the news of the defeat reached him, he said, "By God the slaves have been killed on an unprecedented scale". He also said on the same occasion, "Death is inevitable and there should be no better death for me than to die fighting like Ibn Shumait".<sup>2</sup> This shows how disastrous it was for the morale of al-Mukhtār himself. It also shook to the very foundation the trust of his most sincere followers, i.e., the Persian mawālī to whom he had promised victory. They expressed this distrust by saying, "This time he told lies".<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, Muṣ'ab continued to march on Kūfa. In order to speed up his march, Muṣ'ab ordered the infantry, the weak and the provisions to be carried by boats, while the cavalry advanced by land. In order to hamper their march, al-Mukhtār drained the Euphrates and caused its water to go into the neighbouring canals. As a result the Baṣrans' boats came to a halt. But al-Mukhtār was unable to man the dam for long, so that the Baṣrans soon removed

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1. Wellhausen, Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.85.

2. Tab., II, p.724 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.222.

3. Ansāb, V, p.254; Tab., II, p.724 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

it, and could again continue their journey in their boats.<sup>1</sup>

After fortifying the mosque and the palace, al-Mukhtār left Kūfa and made his camp at Harūrā',<sup>2</sup> in order to prevent Muṣ'ab and his army from entering the city. He had left 'Abdallah ibn Shaddād al-Jushamī as his deputy there. Muṣ'ab's army was arranged into five divisions. On the right wing was al-Muhallab, on the left was 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallah ibn Ma'mar al-Tamīmī; in command of the cavalry was 'Abbād ibn al-Ḥuṣain, and of the infantry, Muqātil ibn Misma' al-Bakrī; and the Kūfan refugees were under Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī.<sup>3</sup> To counteract Muṣ'ab, al-Mukhtār sent to every tribal "Fifth" of the Baṣrans, one of his followers from the same tribe. To Bakr ibn Wā'il, he sent Sa'īd ibn Munqidh, to 'Abd al-Qais he sent 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shuraiḥ al-Shibāmī; to Ahl al-'Āliya he sent 'Abdallah ibn Ja'da ibn Hubaira al-Quraishī al-Makhzūmī; to al-Azd he sent Musāfir ibn Sa'īd ibn Nimrān al-Nā'ifī; to Banū Tamīm he sent Sulaim ibn Yazīd al-Kindī and to Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, he sent al-Sā'ib ibn Mālik al-Ash'arī<sup>4</sup>. The two armies soon joined battle, in which Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath and 'Ubaidallah ibn 'Ālī were killed. At this point, Muhallab's division joined the battle, attacked al-Mukhtār's army and inflicted defeat on

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1. Ansāb, V, p.228; Tab., II, p.724; Kūfī, II, fol. 29a.

2. Tab., II, p.748 (citing al-Wāqidī).

3. Ansāb, V, p.259; Tab., II, p.725 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).

4. Ansāb, V, p.259; Tab., II, p.726.

it. But al-Mukhtār continued to fight all the night, and only under pressure from his followers did he agree to return to the palace.<sup>1</sup>

Since the battle of Khāzīr, 10th of Muḥarram 67/6th of August, 686, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar had remained in Mūsīl governing Jazīra and its dependences. Why did he remain there when al-Mukhtār was in such straits in Kūfa, and there was so little need for his presence in Mūsīl? Why did not al-Mukhtār ask him to come and join him in the war against Muṣ'abi? Wellhausen,<sup>2</sup> presumes that there were reasons to prevent al-Mukhtār asking the help of Ibn al-Ashtar, or that the latter was not sincere in his adherence to al-Mukhtār. In fact, the relationship between al-Mukhtār and Ibrāhīm had become cool when, on Ibrāhīm's departure to flight 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād, al-Mukhtār's followers met him with the chair. Ibrāhīm had expressed his disapproval of this by saying, "O God, do not punish us because of the deeds of the silly among us."<sup>3</sup> But he did not give up his task, perhaps because he was a sincere adherent of the Shī'ī cause. He might also have been motivated by a personal ambition, in that he had been

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1. Ansāb, V, p.259; Tab., II, p.726ff. (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ). Here again, no date for the battle has been given and all we know is that it took place 67/686; but if we consider the narrative of Wāqidi in Tab., (II, p.748), which says that al-Mukhtār was killed in Ramaḍān, 67, four months after the battle of Harūrā', the date of the battle should be 15th Jumāda al-Awwal, 67/1st December, 686; Wellhausen, Die Religios-Politischen Opposition-Parteien im alten Islam, p.56.

2. Ibid., p.86.

3. Ansāb, V, p.248; Tab., II, p.702 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

promised by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya supposedly, (in the false letter), the governorship of conquered lands. His ambition was satisfied now that he was governor of Mūsīl and Jazīra; why, therefore, should he be concerned with al-Mukhtār's affairs? That the two were on not very good terms is hinted at by Ṭabarī; all the heads of the tribal quarters deserted Ibrāhīm as soon as he became governor of Mūsīl, since they believed him to be failing in his adherence to the cause of al-Mukhtār. These tribal heads were sent with Aḥmar ibn Shumaiṭ to the battle of al-Madhār.<sup>1</sup> When Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath went as a messenger to al-Muhallab, to ask him to join Muṣ'ab against al-Mukhtār, we are told by Ibn A'tham<sup>2</sup> that he told him, "Al-Mukhtār now stands alone, for Ibn al-Ashtar has deserted him and seized al-Jazīra." The same source says that when al-Mukhtār heard about Muṣ'ab's preparations for war, he believed that Muṣ'ab had been encouraged to attack, because he knew that Ibn al-Ashtar would no longer come to the assistance of al-Mukhtār.<sup>3</sup> Al-Mukhtār, trying to raise the valour of his followers, made it clear in his speeches that Ibn al-Ashtar was no longer on his side, and asked them to join the army of Ibn Shumaiṭ.<sup>4</sup> However, al-Mukhtār was in great need of Ibrāhīm's help and military experience, especially after the defeat of his army

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1. Ṭab., II, p.720 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

2. Kūfī, II, fol. 27b; Bagh., pp.35-6.

3. Kūfī, II, fol. 28a.

4. Ibid.

in al-Madhār. He wrote several times to him to ask his help, but Ibrāhīm refused.<sup>1</sup> When the battle of Ḥarūrā' began, al-Mukhtār could only express his deep sorrow and regret at his abandonment by Ibrāhīm. One could mention here that after al-Mukhtār's death, Ibrāhīm made a firm alliance with Muṣ'ab. Muṣ'ab would never have placed his complete confidence in Ibrāhīm, had he not been sure of his indifference to al-Mukhtār's cause. It is probable that if Ibrāhīm had not deserted al-Mukhtār, the outcome of the battles of Madhār and Ḥarūrā' might well have been different.

On the next day, (Thursday), Muṣ'ab and his army continued their march on Kūfa, which they entered from al-Sabakha and laid siege to al-Mukhtār. To prevent provisions reaching the latter and his followers, he sent 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī to Jabbānt al-Ṣa'idiyīn, and 'Abbād ibn al-Ḥuṣain to Jabbānt Kinda; he also ordered al-Muhallab to patrol the road to and from Kūfa.<sup>2</sup> These measures prevented al-Mukhtār from getting even drinking water from the Euphrates, so that he was forced to mix honey with the water from the palace wells.

In the palace, with al-Mukhtār, were a large number of mawālī and few 'Arabs. During the siege which lasted, according to Wāqidī<sup>3</sup>, four months, or forty days according to Dīnawarī,<sup>4</sup> the 'Arabs deserted al-Mukhtār

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1. Ibid., II, fol. 29a.

2. Ansāb, V, pp.260-1; Ṭab., II, pp.733-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

3. Ṭab., II, p.749.

4. Dīnawarī, p.313.

and took refuge with their tribes, while the mawālī remained with him until he was killed. During the seige, however, al-Mukhtār's prestige had fallen and people in Kūfa dared to throw stones and rubbish on his followers.<sup>1</sup> The only way they could get supplies was for their wives to bring them, but soon this visiting of wives was stopped. Realizing that the seige would weaken their resistance, al-Mukhtār urged his followers to go out with him and fight until they die or win, but they refused and decided to surrender unconditionally to Muṣ'ab. Therefore, al-Mukhtār and only nineteen followers went out to battle. Al-Mukhtār met his death after having distinguished himself in fighting courageously. It is reported that he said during this last battle before his death, to al-Sā'ib ibn Mālīk al-Ash'arī: "I am an Arab. I saw 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair seize al-Ḥijāz, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam seize Syria, Najda ibn 'Amir al-Ḥanafī (the khārājite) seize al-Yamāma; so I, inferior to none, seized this region. The only difference is that I revenged the Prophet's family (Ahl al-Bait) while the Arabs forgot it."<sup>2</sup> Al-Mukhtār died on the 14th of Ramaḍān 67/3rd of April, 687, when he was 67 years old.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tab., II, p.734 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.224.

2. Ansāb, V, p.261; Dīnawarī, p.313; Tab., II, p.737 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 30b; Kāmil, IV, p.225; Dhahabī, II, p.378.

3. Tab., II, p.750. It is mentioned in Balādhurī (Ansāb, V, p.264) that al-Mukhtār's death was in 69/688 in the month of Ramaḍān. According to Fariq (op. cit., p.119, SII, III, no.2, 1966) this date is more likely since al-Mukhtār had fought several wars in distant regions where the means of communication were slow.

All those who were with al-Mukhtār in the palace, said to have been six thousand in number, were killed on the order of Muṣ'ab, under pressure from the Kūfan refugees to take revenge for their relatives and kinsmen.<sup>1</sup> This massive slaughter provoked the indignation of pious men<sup>2</sup> like 'Abdallah ibn 'Umar, and many of the people of Kūfa, which could be noticed in the death of Muṣ'ab in the battle of Maskin with 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān 72/691. Muṣ'ab, however, showed no mercy towards al-Mukhtār's followers, and killed the two sons of Hujr ibn 'Adī and also the son of Hudhaifa ibn al-Yamān.<sup>3</sup> He cut off the hand of al-Mukhtār and pinned it to the side of the mosque, an act which certainly enraged not only al-Mukhtār's family but all those followers who remained faithful to him even after his death.

Following the death of al-Mukhtār, Muṣ'ab summoned his two widows, Um Thābit bint Samūra ibn Jundūb al-Fazārī and 'Amra bint al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī, and ordered them to declare that al-Mukhtār was a liar and an imposter. The former yielded reluctantly, while the latter refused and asserted that he was a good Muslim. Muṣ'ab imprisoned her and wrote to

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1. *Ansāb*, V, pp.262-3; *Dīnawarī*, p.315; *Tab.*, II, pp.740-1; *Kūfī*, II, fol. 31a; 'Asākir, XVI, fol.270b (citing 'Abdallah ibn Abī Rabī'a al-Makhzūmī); *Kāmil*, IV, p.225. It is reported also that Muṣ'ab intended to kill the mawālī and set the 'Arabs free. The latter were only seven hundred according to Ibn 'Asākir (XVI, fol.270b) and two thousand according to *Dīnawarī* (p.315). See also *Ansāb*, V, p.263; *Tab.*, II, p.749 (citing *Wāqidī*).
  2. *Ansāb*, V, p.265 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and 'Awāna), p.271 (citing 'Awāna); *Tab.*, II, p.745 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).
  3. *Ansāb*, V, pp.270-1 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī).



his brother 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair in Mecca, saying that she claimed that al-Mukhtār was a prophet. 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair passed sentence of death on her, but she still refused to recant,<sup>1</sup>. The poet 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a al-Makhzūmī<sup>2</sup> has expressed how her death shocked the people at that time.

After al-Mukhtār's death, 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair sent his brother 'Urwa to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya demanding his homage and threatening him with death should he refuse. 'Urwa gave his brother's message, and then said to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya that, "God had killed the imposter al-Mukhtār on whom you were depending". Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya replied "... By God I did not send al-Mukhtār as my agent nor was he my supporter; he was more intimate with your brother than with me."<sup>3</sup> This account shows that al-Mukhtār had exploited the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya for his own ends, and that the latter did not approve of his activities.

The interpretation of al-Mukhtār's character given in both the early and late sources, as well as by modern historians, is of a "false prophet", making himself into the agent of al-Mahdī, with connotations of a reflection of the relationship between God and the Prophet, forecasting events to show

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1. *Ansāb*, V, pp.263-4; *Dīnawarī*, p.315; *Tab.*, II, pp.743-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kāmil*, IV, p.227. Certainly this act provoked the people of Kūfa even more against Muṣ'ab, since he had committed a deed which the Prophet had forbidden against the wives of the infidels. *'Iqd*, VI, p.118.
  2. *Ansāb*, V, pp.263-4; *Dīnawarī*, p.315; *Tab.*, II, p.744 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kāmil*, IV, p.227.
  3. *Sa'd*, V, pp.77-8; *'Asākir*, XV, fol. 273a; *Dhahabī*, III, p.299.

himself as in touch with the unknown, using rhymed prose to imitate the Qur'ān, and arousing and directing religious emotions for his own political ends. His motivations were no higher than political ambition, and he unscrupulously used all means to these ends. My own opinion is that he was a genuine Shī'ī and became impatient with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's inactivity in pursuing the revenge of al-Ḥusain, especially since he could see the political possibilities that the revenge could offer to an ambitious man. He achieved power by calling Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya al-Mahdī, and this sparked off a wave of religious fanaticism which he had to contain by continuing the religious pretence: for example, his use of rhymed prose, and his forecasts. He used this religious fanaticism both for the ends of his political ambition, and for the end of the revenge of al-Ḥusain. He seemed to have a genuine concern for the social disabilities of the mawālī, although a part of this would spring from the fact that they were the easiest to arouse in support of his cause, both because of their religious extremism and their social grievances.

Apart from an ephemeral political success, the revolt of al-Mukhtār contributed considerably to the history of the Shī'a movement; for it was connected with the origin of the Kaisāniyya and the Khashabiyya sects.

Al-Kaisāniyya derives its name from a man called Kaisān, about whom our authorities are not agreed. It is said that Kaisān the mawlā of 'Alī ibn Abī

Tālib was the founder of the sect,<sup>1</sup> from whom al-Mukhtār took his ideas; it is claimed that Kaisān was with al-Mukhtār in the taking of the revenge of al-Ḥusain. Since this Kaisān, however, was killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn 37/657,<sup>2</sup> about thirty years before al-Mukhtār's revolt and the origin of the Kaisāniyya, it is impossible to accept this view. It is probable that by attributing the Kaisāniyya to the mawlā of 'Alī, or depicting him as a disciple of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya,<sup>3</sup> the intention was to give the sect a strong religious pedigree, since Kaisān would take his knowledge either directly from his master, 'Alī, or indirectly from his son.

Another view holds that the Kaisān after whom the sect was named, was al-Mukhtār himself, who was nicknamed Kaisān, either by 'Alī or by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.<sup>4</sup> The sources, however, show only that al-Mukhtār was called "Kayyis" by 'Alī and not Kaisān at all. The claim that the title was conferred on al-Mukhtār by Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is extremely unlikely, since Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya never trusted him, nor recognized him as working for the "Ahl al-Bait". Therefore, it would seem that al-Mukhtār and Kaisān

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1. Nawbakhtī, p.21; Maqālāt, p.18; Ibn Ḥayyūn, Sharḥ al-Akhbār, fol.48b; Mafātīḥ, p.21; Bagh., p.27; Adyān, p.35; Milāl, p.280; Hūr, p.182; Mir'āt, VI, fol.39a; Muqaddima, p.351.
  2. Ṭab., I, p.3293 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, III, p.247.
  3. Milāl, p.280; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 39a.
  4. Ma'ārif, p.267; Nawbakhtī, p.20; A'lāq, p.218; Maqālāt, p.18; Murūj, V, p.180 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba); Bagh., p.27; Nubdha min Kitāb al-Tārikh, fol. 245b; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 39a.

were two different people.<sup>1</sup>

One final explanation for the name Kaisāniyya is given by Ibn Ḥazm and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī,<sup>2</sup> who state that the Kaisāniyya were the followers of al-Mukhtār and Kaisān Abū ‘Amra, a mawlā of ‘Uraina from the tribe of Bajīla. This last explanation helps us to clarify the point that, if al-Mukhtār was ever called Kaisān, it was due to the activities of Kaisān Abū ‘Amra, who as the head of al-Mukhtār's personal guard, threatened the non-Shī‘ī and was very influential among his fellow mawālī. It could be that when in later years Kaisān's activity against the non-Shī‘ī were remembered, after the man himself had been forgotten, the word "Kaisāniyya" was used to describe all the activities of that brief spell of al-Mukhtār's power. This shows how Kaisān and al-Mukhtār became linked names, so that Mukhtāriyya and Kaisāniyya became synonymous.

This study is not concerned with the theological aspect of al-Kaisāniyya sect; it is suffice to mention here that the political party which overthrew the Umayyids and established the ‘Abbāsids in power (the Hāshimiyya) was a group of the Kaisāniyya, which split into three groups after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Sa‘d, V, p.77; Dīnawarī, pp.296-7.

2. Fiṣal, IV, p.94; Ḥūr, p.182; Freidlaender, The Heterodoxies of the Shī‘ites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm, p.34, JAOS, XXIX, 1908.

3. Van Vloten, op. cit., p.42; E.I.<sup>2</sup>, (‘Abbāsīd), (Hāshimiyya), (Ghulāt).

The name al-Khashabiyya, "club men", was used for the first time to designate those sent by al-Mukhtār from among the people of Kūfa to rescue Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, after being imprisoned by Ibn al-Zubair. They were called so because they held wooden clubs in their hands as weapons.<sup>1</sup> It is said<sup>2</sup> that this was on the instructions of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to avoid the use of swords in the ḥaram. It is also reported by al-Balādhurī and Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>3</sup> on doubtful evidence, that they were called Khashabiyya because they took the wooden clubs which were piled up by Ibn al-Zubair beside the prison in preparation for burning Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and his followers. The fact that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was always against violence and the use of force<sup>4</sup> and that it was only on their entry into al-Ḥaram that they held swords, makes us favour the first interpretation.

Another account has it that it was Ibrāhīm's army that was called Khashabiyya. According to Ibn Qutaiba, Ibn Rusta and Maqdisī,<sup>5</sup> most of Ibrāhīm's army that fought Ibn Ziyād carried wooden arms (khashab), and for

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1. Akhbār, fols. 45b, 46a, 47a; Ansāb, V, p.231; Tab., II, p.694 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.207.
  2. Akhbār, fol. 47a; Ansāb, V, p.231; fol. 262a; Tab., II, pp.694-5 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūft, II, fol. 11b; Kāmil, IV, p.207.
  3. Ansāb, V, p.231; fol. 262a; Kāmil, IV, p.207.
  4. Sa'd, V, p.78; Ansāb, V, pp.246-7; Tab., II, pp.689-91 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūft, II, fol.12a; Kāmil, IV, pp.204-5.
  5. Ma'ārif, p.267; A'lāq, p.218; Bad', V, p.133.

this reason were called Khashabiyya. After al-Mukhtār's death, al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, a general of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, laid seige to Naṣībīn, where Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar was governor. Abu Qārib, Yazīd ibn Abī Ṣakhr and the Khashabiyya were defending the city. Muhallab addressed the people saying, "Do not be frightened of these men. They are only slaves with nothing in their hands but sticks."<sup>1</sup> This shows both that Khashabiyya was being used as a name for Ibrāhīm's army, and that this was associated with the fact that they were mawālī.

These Khashabiyya are not the same as those who rescued Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya from Ibn al-Zubair. This is made clear by information given in Balādhurī,<sup>2</sup> who relates that the four thousand men who came to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's rescue, and among whom he distributed the money sent by al-Mukhtār, did not go back to Kūfa, but remained with him in the Shi'b of 'Alī. Even those few among them who, with the permission of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, went to see their families and remained in Kūfa until the battle of Jabbanāt al-Subai', fought in that battle against al-Mukhtār. It is therefore difficult to imagine them in the army of Ibn al-Ashtar fighting the Syrians for the sake of al-Mukhtār; nor would the latter have trusted them any more. This information of Balādhurī has been confirmed by Ibn Sa'd's narrative<sup>3</sup> which says that

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1. Agh., V, p.155 (citing al-Haytham ibn 'Adī).

2. Akhbār, fol. 47a; Ansāb, fol. 262a.

3. Sa'd, V, p.76.

in the year 66-67/685-686, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and four thousand of the Khashabiyya who were residing in the Shi'b of Mina performed the pilgrimage. Thus there were two groups of men known as Khashabiyya: the first, the rescuers of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, and the second, Ibrāhīm's army. In the first case, the name was simply used as a descriptive name; it seems that it was the second group that developed into a religious sect.

What was the relationship between al-Mukhtār, the Kaisāniyya and the Khashabiyya? Al-Mas'ūdī<sup>1</sup> tells us that when al-Mukhtār was fighting Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, "he had with him many of the Shi'a, called Khashabiyya, belonging to the Kaisāniyya." On the authority of al-Zubair ibn Bakkar, al-Iṣbahānī<sup>2</sup> says that, "it was Khudīf al-Asadī who converted Kuḥayyir (who was known to be a Kaisānī<sup>3</sup>) to the Khashabiyya." Al-Mas'ūdī in al-Tanbīh says that when al-Mukhtār was killed and his followers, about six thousand, surrendered unconditionally to Muṣ'ab, they were all put to death; these followers were known as Khashabiyya.<sup>4</sup> We are told by al-Ṭabarī and al-Iṣbahānī,<sup>5</sup> that Yazīd ibn 'Uthmān al-Khashabī received his

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1. Murūj, V, p.226.

2. Agh. VIII, p.33.

3. Freidlaender, op. cit., p.94, JAOS, XXIX, 1908; E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (al-Khashabiyya).

4. Tanbīh, pp.312-13.

5. Ṭab., II, p.1798; Agh., VI, p.139.

name from the fact that he was descended from one of the Kḥashabiyya of al-Mukhtār. These accounts show that al-Kḥashabiyya was used as a name for al-Mukhtār's followers, and that either al-Kḥashabiyya was another name for al-Kaisāniyya<sup>1</sup> or else that one of the sects took over the other, perhaps in a later period, so that the two names were used interchangeably.

As to the reason why Ibrāhīm's followers carried wooden clubs in their hands and not weapons, modern historians disagree. Wellhausen<sup>2</sup> presumes that being mawālī, they were poor and thus could not afford to buy weapons. The fact that it is not true that all the mawālī were poor, nor that all the Kḥashabiyya were mawālī, makes this presumption inadequate. As has been pointed out by Friedlaender,<sup>3</sup> the name must have had religious implications. It is reported by Ibn Ḥazm<sup>4</sup> that the Rawāfiḍ hold that it was forbidden to use weapons before the speaking Imām (al-Nāṭiq) came forth. After that, it would be obligatory to draw swords along with him. It may be that the Kḥashabiyya were motivated by similar doctrinal reasons, since both were extremist Shīʿī sects. This doctrine of using sticks instead of weapons has been ascribed to both Jewish<sup>5</sup> and Christian<sup>6</sup> origins.

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1. E. I., (al-Kḥashabiyya).

2. Die Religios-Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p.80.

3. op. cit., p.94, JAOS, XXIX, 1908.

4. Fīṣal, IV, p.171.

5. Friedlaender, op. cit., p.94, JAOS, XXIX, 1908.

6. Rajkowski, op. cit., pp.168-9.



Al-Khashabiyya as a name was also given to a group of a Zaidī Shī'a, known as Shurkhabīyya after a certain Shurkhab al-Jabārī.<sup>1</sup> This obscure Shurkhab might, as Arendank has suggested,<sup>2</sup> have been the one who played a part in Ṭabaristān in the time of al-Ḥasan ibn Zaid.<sup>3</sup>

It is also reported that a group of al-Jahmiyya was called Khashabiyya; they held that God does not speak and that the Qur'ān is created.

Finally, it is reported<sup>4</sup> that al-Khashabiyya were called so because they kept the wood on which Zaid ibn 'Alī was crucified. This, however, cannot be true, because the crucifixion of Zaid happened much later, after the death of Ibn 'Umar, on whose authority this story has been reported.

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1. Mafātīh, p.21; Adyān, pp.34-5.

2. E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (al-Khashabiyya).

3. Ibn Isfandiyyār, (English translation by E. G. Browne), Index.

4. Nihāya, II, p.33.

### CHAPTER III

#### ‘ABD AL-MALIK IBN MARWĀN AND THE ‘AṢABIYYA

Tribal feuding existed long before ‘Abd al-Malik's reign began, although it reached a new intensity during his caliphate. Nevertheless, by the end of his reign, outbreaks of raiding and other manifestations of ‘Aṣabiyya were very much in the decline, as a result of the policies pursued by ‘Abd al-Malik towards the tribes.

Feuding broke out in both Syria and al-Jazīra first between the Qais and the Kalb, and later between the Qais and the Taghlib. Khurāsān was also the scene of feuding, starting between Rabī‘a and Muḍar (i.e. Bakr, Tamīm and Qais). Later, the Muḍarites divided, and feuding began between the Tamīm and the Qais. Finally, the Tamīm began to feud among themselves.

Historians hold different views on the origins of the antagonism between the Qais and the Kalb (i.e. the Northern and Southern ‘Arabs). While Dozy<sup>1</sup> thinks that the struggle between the Qais and the Kalb "has existed from time immemorial", Goldziher<sup>2</sup> considers that it derived from the rivalry between the Quraish and the Anṣār. Wellhausen<sup>3</sup> stresses the view that the hostility between the Qais and the Kalb "did not exist before the capture of Syria by the Muslims and the immigration thither of the Qais". It seems erroneous

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1. Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, I, p.108 ff., Leiden, 1861.

2. Muslim Studies, I, p.91, Ed. S.M. Stern, London, 1967.

3. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.180.

to connect these feuds with the pre-Islamic ones, for the latter were between "neighbouring tribes often related to one another".<sup>1</sup>

The development of the tribal feuds in the Umayyad period seems to be due to economic and social factors and goes back to the time of the Conquest and the settlement of Arab tribes in the conquered lands. Even before the conquest of Syria, there were many Arab tribes living there, most of them Yemenites. They were Ghassān, Tanūkh, Judhām, 'Āmila, Kalb, Salīh, and Bahrā'. In the north of Syria there were Taghlib, Tanūkh, Iyād and al-Nimr ibn Qāsīt.<sup>2</sup> Some of these tribes, such as Ghassān, were associated with the Byzantines and even fought against the 'Arabs with the Byzantines.<sup>3</sup> This might have temporarily weakened the Yemenite influence in Syria, yet their prior presence and their numerical strength meant that they soon regained much of their earlier predominance over the other tribes. Their years of contact with the Byzantine Empire had raised their economic standards of living, and culturally and economically they were superior to the new settling 'Arabs. On the other hand, the conquering Yemenite Arabs felt that the prior occupation of parts of Syria gave them a special interest in the area: when the Caliph 'Umar I tried to send re-inforcements to the Muslim

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1. B. Lewis, The Arabs in History, p.74, London, 1964.

2. Mā'ārif, p.212; Ishtiqāq, pp. 225, 313-14, 327; Futūh, p.59; Tab., I, p.2347; Hamdānī, Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab, p.129; Agh., XV, p.91; Bakrī, I, pp.50, 86; Jamharat, p.423; 'Ibar, II, pp.36-7.

3. Futūh, p.135; Tab., I, p.2081 (citing Saif ibn 'Umar); E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ghassān).

armies who were carrying out the conquest of Iraq, the Yemenites preferred to go to Syria as "the land of their forefathers".<sup>1</sup> Thus most of the new 'Arab settlers arriving with the conquests were also Yemenites, thus making it likely that the Southern 'Arabs would continue to be dominant in Syria even after the conquest. A look at the settlement of tribes in Syria clearly shows this dominance: in Palestine were Lakham, 'Āmila, Judhām and Kalb; in Jordan were Ghassān, Madhḥij, Qudā'a, Hamdān, Kalb and 'Ik; Ḥurān and Jūlān contained a mixture of Lakham, Juhaina and Dhubiān; while Damascus was also inhabited by Qudā'a, Ghassān and Ḥimyar with a small number of Qaisite and Quraishite. Ḥimṣ was predominantly Yemenite in character, where were Kinda, Ṭay, Ḥimyar, Kalb, Hamdān and a minority of 'Iyād and Qais. Ḥamāt was inhabited by Yementies too, especially the Tanūkh and Bahrā'. In the northern region we find Salīḥ, Zubaid, Hamdān, Kinda, and Ṭay, all Yemenite, with a minority of Qais and Iyād. The Qais were in a majority in Qinusrīn and its outskirts, as well as in the Jazīra', as were the Rabī'a. The Kalb, on the other hand, were the sole occupants of the desert of the Samāwa. The Taghlib were on the Khabūr in the Jazīra region.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ṭab., I, pp. 2187-8; 2217-8 (citing Saif ibn 'Umar).

2. Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, Waq'at Ṣiffīn, p. 232; Futūḥ, pp. 107-92; Dinawarī, p. 183; Buldān, pp. 325, 329; Ṭab., I, pp. 1555-6, 1604-5, 1611, 1740-1, 2347-8, II, 468; Hamdānī, Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab, pp. 129-34; Mu'jam, II, p. 44, IV, p. 391; Bughya, fols. 467-501.

The campaigns of the conquest led to a new development in the structure of Arabian society: the change from the Bedouin way of life to city-dwelling, as different tribes settled in the cities of the conquered lands. Contrary to one's expectation, that this settlement in the cities would weaken tribal cohesion, and act as a check on the rivalries and jealousies of the different tribes now forced to live together, it did, in fact, increase tribal loyalty. Indeed, the Caliph had military reasons for maintaining tribal loyalties, as they were used to maintain discipline in the lower ranks of the army. The settlement in towns was organised on a tribal basis, each tribe having its own quarter.<sup>1</sup>

In Syria, the military settlements and districts of the tribes were called Jund. The tribes were quartered in these Jund, and could be mobilized for seasonal campaigns or for more protracted expeditions. There were at first four Junds in Syria, of Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Jordan and Palestine. Later, the Jund of Qinasrīn is said to have been detached from this organization by the caliph Yazīd.<sup>2</sup> "The whole army was a mixture of men of various tribes, but in the lower ranks, the soldiers remained grouped in communities of tribal origin".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Futūḥ, pp.276-89; Dinawarī, p.147 ff.; Tab., I, pp.2377-8, 2489-90; Massignon, Explacation du Plan de Kufa (Irak), pp.345, MM, III, 1935-40; al-Janābī, Takḥṭīt al-Kūfa, pp.76-80, Baghdad, 1967.

2. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Djund).

3. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Djaysh).

From the battle of Ṣiffīn, one can detect the elements of the Syrian army in the early Umayyad period. In that battle the army of Mu'āwiyā was composed mainly of Yemenites with a minority of Qaisite but no Rabī'ites. The Yemenites were Ḥimyar, Quḍā'a (Kalb and Tanūkh), Lakham, Judhām, Hamdām, Khath'am, Ghassān, Madhḥij, 'Ik, Ash'ar, Kinda and Azd. The Qais minority were mainly Hawāzin, Ghatafān, Sulaim and Iyād.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, command of the army was in the hands of the Quraish. The religious and political superiority which the Quraish had enjoyed over the other tribes in pre-Islamic times continued in Islamic times due to their special status as the tribe of the Prophet: they held, in fact, almost all the important offices, as commanders of armies and rulers of the Arabs. This helped them to maintain a position above the rivalry of the tribes. The Umayyad and the Quraish, while not unnaturally choosing to rely on the stronger Kalb, nevertheless avoided antagonizing the Qais, with whom they were related by blood-ties.

To return to the tribal organizations of the cities, this served to preserve the tribes as distinctive units and to prevent much inter-tribal mixing. On the other hand, the new closeness of the tribes made friction between them unavoidable, thus causing unrest and feuding.

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1. Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, op. cit., pp.233-99; Ṭab., I, pp.3282-3310.

To examine this specifically in the Syrian context, jealousies were aroused between the dominant Yemenī element, especially the Kalb, with their resentment of the non-Yemenite groups with whom they had to share resources, and the Qais, who envied the Yemeni influence and prosperity.

This jealousy showed itself clearly in the relations between the two parties and the sovereign, i.e. first the governor of Syria and then the Umayyad caliph. Both parties competed with each other to get the favour of the ruler by offering their services to him in return for rewards or appointment to state offices, a rich source of both wealth and influence. The sovereign chose to rely most on the Kalbites, as they were the stronger, a fact which both increased the strength of the Kalbites through government patronage, and caused the Qais to swing into bitter opposition to the government. The Qais found themselves deprived of office and influence, and thus unable to themselves act as a patronage group, which in its turn increased their hostility to the Kalbites. It is in the light of this vicious circle that the relations between the Umayyad caliphs and the tribes should be seen.

The policy of Mu'āwīya in Syria follows this pattern, for he favoured the Kalb in order to both secure his own position at home, and to prepare himself to face the Caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib in war. Both he and his son

Yazīd concluded marriage alliances with the Kalbites,<sup>1</sup> which made the Yemenites in general, and the Kalb in particular, the most influential of the tribes in Syria during their reign, and during the short reign of Mu'āwiya II.<sup>2</sup> It is also reported in the Kitābat Aghānī<sup>3</sup> that at first Mu'āwiya allotted the 'Aṭā' to the Yemenite tribes alone, (ولا يمد لهم من غيرها الا لليمن) thus strengthening the Yemenites to the extent that they threatened the Qais with expulsion from Syria. No other sources confirm this account, but even if it is an exaggeration, it may well have been based on the state of tribal tension at the time.

Conflict in the interests of the two tribes, led the Kalbites (Yemenites) and the Qaisites (Muḍarites) to support opposing political groups. In the period of political trouble that followed the death of the caliph Yazīd I, the support the Yemenites gave to the Umayyads was due to the favourable economic and political position which they had enjoyed under them.<sup>4</sup> On

1. Ansāb, IV, ii, p.61; Tab., II, p.204; Khulafā', II, fol. 70b; E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (Kais 'Ailān); E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (Kalb). These marriage alliances between the Kalb tribe and the Umayyad family date from the time of the caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, who married Nā'ila bint al-Farāfiṣa, a Kalbite. Ansāb, V, p.99 (citing Madā'inī and Abū Mikhnaḥ), 106; Tab., I, p.3056.
2. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akḥṭal, p.1ff.; Idem, Ḥamāsa, I, p.319; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.219; Muḥabbār, p.373; Ansāb, IV, II, pp.60, 65; V, pp.127-8, 132 (citing 'Abbās ibn Hishām al-Kalbī); Ya'qūbī, II, pp.283, 301; Tab., II, pp.205, 474-5, 837; Jahshiyārī, pp.24, 26, 31; Asākir, IV, pp.145, 460; V, pp.86, 337; Iṣāba, III, p.337; Dhahabī, II, p.69; III, p.16.
3. Agh., XVIII, pp.69-70. Concerning the favour shown by Mu'āwiya to the Yemenites, see also Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim, op. cit., pp.492-3.
4. See the notes 1 and 2 on this page.



the other hand, the Qaisites gave their full support to Ibn al Zubair, less for their love of his cause, then for their hatred to the Kalbites, and the Umayyads who supported them. Mas'ūdī<sup>1</sup> reports that the Yemenites, headed by the Kalbite Ḥassan ibn Mālīk Ibn Baḥdal, stipulated, before giving their full support to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, that they should be given the same concessions as they enjoyed during the caliphates of Mu'āwīya I, Yazīd I and Mu'āwīya II. These were that two thousand of them should receive two thousand dirhams each annual payment for their support, and if the recipient died, his son or cousin should receive the payment. The Kalbites should be given the front place in the court, and should be consulted in every important matter. To all these terms Marwān gave his consent. It is also reported by Abū Ja'fr in Ṭabarī, that before al-Ḥusain ibn Numair gave his support to Marwān, he stipulated that he should give al-Balqā' to Kinda as a fief.<sup>2</sup> Not unnaturally, therefore, the Qaisite gave their full support in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ (64/683) to Ibn al-Zubair while the Yemenites took the side of Marwān.<sup>3</sup> This battle, however, ended with a crushing defeat for the Qaisites.<sup>4</sup> This defeat at the hands of the Yemenites

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1. Murūj, V, p.200.

2. Ṭab., II, p.487.

3. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akḥṭal, pp.16-17; Idem, Ḥamāsa, I, pp.317-19; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.255; Ansāb, V, pp.127-28, 132 (citing 'Awāna), 138, 146 (citing Wāqidī), 148; Ya'qūbī, II, pp.303-4; Ṭab., II, p.478; Marzubānī, Mu'jam al-Sh'arā', p.241; Murūj, V, p.202; Khulafā', II, fols. 95a;95b, 96b; Shams, p.42.

4. It is reported that nine thousand Qaisites were killed. This might be an exaggeration, but it does reflect that heavy losses were suffered. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akḥṭal, p.17; Marzubānī, op. cit., p.227.

was never forgotten by the Qais, and made the conflict between the two even deeper. This was one reason for the feuds between them in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān,<sup>1</sup> for the Qaisites found in the political disturbances at the time of his accession an opportunity to revenge themselves.

Tribal conflicts over waterwells and pastureland did not cease with Islām and continued even during the Umayyad period. A good example of such conflict can be found in the region of al-Jazīra. The immigration of Qais at the time of the conquest brought them close to the Taghlib who were dwelling in Mūsīl and the Euphrates basin.<sup>2</sup> As a result, they began to compete with each other for the most important economic resources, water wells and pastureland, which was a cause of the feud between them during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.<sup>3</sup> Economic and social conflicts led to other differences; while the Qais were pro-Zubairids, we find the Taghlib supporting the Umayyads. It seems that this was the reason for the Taghlib joining the Yemenites in the battle of Marj Rahit against the

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1. Abū Tammām, *Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akḥṭal*, pp.24, 25, 26; Idem, *Ḥamāsa*, I, pp.71, 317-18; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, pp.256-57; Ḥayawān, III, pp.422-23; *Ansāb*, V, pp.141-2 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); *Tab.*, II, pp.482-83; *Amidī*, pp.74, 129; *Murūj*, V, p.203; *Agh.*, XVII, p.112 (citing Madā'inī); *Mu'jam*, II, pp.743-44.
  2. *E. I.*<sup>1</sup>, (Qais 'Ailān; *E. I.*<sup>1</sup>, (Taghlib).
  3. See below, p. 183ff.

Qaisites.<sup>1</sup> They probably hoped that the defeat of the Qaisites in this battle would enable them to expel the Qaisites from the region, leaving them free to enjoy its economic advantages. However, despite their defeat, the Qaisites continued to live as neighbours of the Taghlib, thus ensuring the continuation of the tribal conflict.

A third scene of tribal conflict was Khurāsān, where it flared up after the death of the caliph Yazīd I. We shall have occasion to discuss this later in detail: it is sufficient to mention here that the Rabī'a were jealous of the extent to which the Muḍar were exploiting the resources of Khurasan.<sup>2</sup> (على ما يكدر هؤلاء غزاهم دونها)

During the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (65-86), no such tribal feuds as were taking place in al-Jazīra or Khurāsān, have been reported to us in Iraq. It seems that the people of both Kūfa and Baṣra were pre-occupied with fighting the Khārijites<sup>3</sup> (Azāriqa and Shabīb). Moreover, one must not forget the efforts made by al-Ḥajjāj to suppress the 'Aṣabiyya among the tribes. The people of Iraq were also busy in the conquest of the Eastern provinces. However, tribal rivalry and jealousy did assert itself in an earlier period. The attempt of al-Muthannā ibn

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1. Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, p.71; Ansāb, V, p.328 (citing 'Awāna); Ḍaif, Al-Taṭawur wal-Tajdīd fi'l-Shi'r al-Umawī, p.17, Cairo, 1965; E. I. I, (Taghlib).

2. Futūḥ, p.414; Ansāb, fol. 593a; Ṭab., II, p.488ff.

3. Al-Nuṣṣ, Al-'Aṣabiyya al-Qabaliyya wa Atharuha fi'l-Shi'r al-Umawī, p.315, Beirut, 1964.

Mukharriba al-‘Abdī to seize al-Baṣra for al-Mukhtār<sup>1</sup>, and the revolt of Ibn al-Jārūd (where the Qaisite sided with al-Ḥajjāj),<sup>2</sup> are good examples of conflicts between the tribes. This will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.

The Qaisites were awaiting their opportunity to avenge themselves for their defeat in the battle of Marj Rāhit: this came in the battle of Khazīr, 10th Muḥarram 67/6th August 686, when ‘Umair ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who was with the Qaisites on the left wing of the Syrian army, deserted the battlefield as soon as the battle was joined, thus bringing about the victory of the Iraqis.<sup>3</sup> Following this treason, ‘Umair took refuge with the head of the Qaisites, Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī. The latter had been keeping a strong hold on Qarqīsyā’ against the Umayyads, since the battle of Marj Rāhit.<sup>4</sup> From this time onwards began the armed conflict between Qais and Kalb, taking the form of raids. These wars or raids were called Ayyām (days), each of which usually carried the name of the place in which the raid occurred.

Our information about these "days" comes mainly from al-Balādhurī and al-Iṣbahānī in his Aghānī. Ibn al-Athīr mainly repeats the narrative

1. See Chapter II, p. 107ff
2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 269; Ansāb, XI, p. 282 ff. (citing Madā’inī and Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 873-74 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 308ff.; Ibar, III, p. 94ff.
3. See Chapter II, pp. 132-4.
4. Abu Tammām, Naqā’īḍ Jarīr wal Akhtal, p. 26; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 256; Ansāb, V, pp. 301, 313-4; Tab., II, pp. 480, 483 (citing Abu Mikhnaḥ); Agh., XVII, p. 112 (citing Madā’inī); Mu‘jam, II, p. 744; Kāmil, IV, p. 254.

of al-Balādhurī. He repeats the narrative of al-Madā'inī in Ṭabarī when dealing with the feuds in Khurāsān, and thus in both cases he adds but little to our knowledge. Al-Ṭabarī, however, provides an important detailed account of the tribal conflicts in Khurāsān and the Eastern provinces, which together with that of Ibn A'tham, provides us with a full picture of the events in that area. Our second source of information is the poetical works of al-Akhtal, Qaṭamī, Farazdaq and Jarīr, as well as many other poetical and literary works,<sup>1</sup> which confirm the historical tradition that has reached us from the classical sources. Finally, there is another indispensable source of information on these "days", in the books of geneology (Nasab) of Ibn Ḥabīb, Ibn al-Kalbī, Ibn Duraid, al-Hamdānī, Ibn Ḥazm and al-Sam'ānī. Apart from such scattered information as they contain, they are useful in that they show the tribal relationships of the individuals involved in these "days". However, despite the abundance of the material we possess about these "days", it is of a somewhat confused nature and rarely follows a chronological sequence. Yet, by comparing the different narratives and by following the faint clues they contain, one is able to build up a chronology for these events.

We have four narratives which describe the beginning of the feud

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1. Abū 'Ubaida, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Farazdaq; Abu Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal-Akhtal; Al-Qurashī, Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab; Ibn Sallām, Tabaqāt al-Shu'arā'; Jahīz, Al-Ḥayawān; Ras'īl; Al-Bayān wal Tabyīn; Amīdī, Al-Mu'talif wal-Mukhtalif...; Marzubānī, Mu'jam al-Shu'arā'; Tawḥīdī, Al-Imtā' wal-Mu'ānasa; Al-'Askarī, Kitāb al-Sīnā'atāin.

between the Qais and Kalb; two are in Balādhurī<sup>1</sup> and two in the Kitāb al-Aghānī.<sup>2</sup> The first account of Balādhurī narrates that when the battle of Marj Rāhit was over, Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī fled to Qarqīsyā'. He was then joined by 'Umar ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī. They both began to make raids on the Kalbites and other Yemenites to revenge the death of those Qaisites killed in Marj Rāhit. Some of the Taghlib were with them in these raids, which led the Kalbites to retaliate by raiding those Taghlib who were with Zufar. The second narrative of Balādhurī has come to us on the authority of Dāwūd ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. He says that after the battle of Khāzir, 'Umar ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, scorning to join al-Mukhtār, went to Qarqīsyā' to join Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, where the two began to raid the Kalbites and other Yemenites. Owing to the many problems which 'Abd al-Malik faced at the time, he was unable to deal with Zufar immediately. Meanwhile, 'Umar ibn al-Ḥubāb, not wishing to stay longer with Zufar in Qarqīsyā', asked 'Abd al-Malik for Amān. Despite the malice which 'Abd al-Malik bore against 'Umar for his treason in the battle of Khāzir, he did not refuse to grant this request, and 'Umar joined 'Abd al-Malik. However, false rumours soon caused 'Abd al-Malik to imprison 'Umar, who however eventually managed to escape and went to al-Jazīra. 'Umar took his residence on

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.313-14.

2. Agh., XVII, p.111ff.; XX, p.120ff.

the banks of the Bulaikh river, where he was joined by his branch of the Qaisites. He then began to make raids on the Kalb and other Yemenites in the region, and also made enemies of his Taghlibite neighbours by tyrannizing them. This was before 'Abd al-Malik marched to fight first Zufar, and then Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair. Both of these narratives show that the feud between Qais and Kalb was started by the Qaisites. They also agree that Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith and 'Umar ibn al-Ḥubāb together began to raid the Kalb and other Yemenites from Qarqīsyā'. However, the first narrative, which comes to us without any chain of authority, makes no mention of the role of 'Umar in the battle of Khāzir, and portrays him as joining Zufar after the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ. Thus it does not follow as closely the sequence of events as the second account, although it does explain how some of the Taghlib took part in the Qaisite raids on the Kalbites. The second narrative is repeated by Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>1</sup>

According to the first narrative of the Kitāb al-Aghānī,<sup>2</sup> however, the feud began when Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī made a sudden attack on the settlements of the Kalbites in Musaiyakh, killing twenty of their men. When news of this reached Ḥumaid ibn Ḥuraith ibn Baḥdal al-Kalbī,

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1. Kāmil, IV, p. 254.

2. Agh., XX, pp. 120-1.

he retaliated by killing sixty men from Banū Numair, who were living in Tadmur. This slaughter of Banū Numair led Zufar to search out the Kalbites, and kill more than five hundred of them in the "day" known as the "day of al-Iklīl". Zufar returned safely to Qarqīsyā', where Ḥumaid could not reach him. The second narrative of the Kitāb al-Aghānī,<sup>1</sup> on the authority of Madā'inī, says that, following the defeat of the Qaisites in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, Zufar fled to Qarqīsyā', where he was joined by 'Umar ibn al-Ḥubāb after the death of Ibn Ziyād in the battle of Khāzir. Then 'Umar began his raids on Kalb, Qudā'a and other Yemenites. These raids caused the Kalb, led by Ḥumaid ibn Ḥuraith ibn Baḥdal, to retaliate, killing a large number of the tribe of Banū Numair in Tadmur.

Thus we see that the Kitāb al-Aghānī's first narrative portrays Zufar, and not 'Umar, as the one who began the feud. This, however, is not confirmed in any other accounts. On the other hand, the narrative of Madā'inī in the Kitāb al-Aghānī confirms that of Dāwūd ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in Balādhurī, in that both say it was 'Umar who started the feud against the Kalb.<sup>2</sup> They also agree that 'Umar only joined Zufar in Qarqīsyā' after the battle of Khāzir. Therefore, it is possible to give

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1. Agh., XVII, p.111 ff. (citing Madā'inī).
  2. Forming his opinion from Kitāb al-Aghānī's narratives, Wellhausen decides that it was Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith who started the feuds, and not 'Umar ibn al-Ḥubāb. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.202.



a rough date for the beginning of this feud, from these two accounts.

The feud, it seems, did not start before the year 67/686, for this was the year of the battle of Khāzīr, the time when 'Umar joined Zufar.

Moreover, considering that narrative of Balādhurī which states that 'Umar's raids on the Kalbites were before 'Abd al-Malik had fought either Zufar or Muṣ'ab, it is also possible to conclude that these raids between Kalb and Qais were confined to a period between 67/686 and 70/699, for 'Abd al-Malik fought Zufar and Muṣ'ab in the years 70-72 (699-701).

Perhaps this is why Ibn al-Athīr<sup>1</sup> gives the year 70/699 as the date of the feud. After the slaughter of the Banū Numair in Tadmur by Ḥumaid ibn Ḥuraith ibn Baḥdal, Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith killed five hundred Kalbites.<sup>2</sup>

However, Ḥumaid attempted to retaliate by following 'Umar when he went to raid the Banū Janāb of the Kalb tribe, but being unable to reach him, he instead attacked a group of Qaisite followers of 'Umar, and put them all to death, except for one who managed to flee and carry the news of this massacre to 'Umar.<sup>3</sup> 'Umar returned to Qarqīsyā'. The feuds between Qais and Kalb continued and the names of several "days"

1. Kāmil, IV, p.254.

2. Agh., XX, p.121.

3. Ansāb, V, p.309 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Agh., XVII, p.112ff. (citing Mada'inī).

are reported to us, such as that of al-Ghuwair, al-Faras and Duhmān.<sup>1</sup> Owing to these constant raids, the Kalbites left the area affected by the Qasite raids, and emigrated to al-Ghaur in Palestine.<sup>2</sup> Thus we see that Qais realized their end of achieving unchallenged supremacy in the area.

Following the accession of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam to the Caliphate 64/684, he sent an army under 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād to conquer Kūfa. On his way, Ibn Ziyād tried to liquidate Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith, who, with the Qaisites, had a strong hold on Qarqīsyā'. After an abortive seige of a year, Ibn Ziyād had to give up this project, and marched on to Kūfa, where he was defeated and killed in the battle of Khāzir, 67/68.<sup>3</sup> Being engaged in consolidating his power in Syria, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān left Zufar and the Qais in Qarqīsyā' unmolested for a while. However, as soon as he felt secure enough at home, he returned his attention towards Iraq. There was little point in attacking Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, the governor of Iraq for his brother 'Abdallah, while Zufar still held Qarqīsyā' in support of Ibn al-Zubair. Therefore, before advancing against Muṣ'ab, 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Abān Ibn Abī 'Uqba ibn Abī Mu'ait, his governor of Ḥims, ordering him to fight Zufar in in Qarqīsyā'.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Agh., XX, pp.121-23.

2. Absāb, V, p.308; Agh., XX, p.123.

3. See Chapter II, p.131.

4. Ansāb, V, p.307 (citing al-Ḥaytham); Kāmil, IV, p.275; Ibar, III, p.81.

Zufar's forces were defeated in this campaign and one of his sons killed, yet he still remained in control of Qarqīsyā'.

Having put down the revolt of 'Amr ibn Sa'īd al-Ashdaq in Damascus, 'Abd al-Malik once again marched against Iraq to fight Muṣṭab ibn al-Zubair. Before doing so, he made another attempt to end the insurrection of Zufar and the Qaisites in Qarqīsyā'. This task occupied the whole summer of 71-72/691.<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Malik first laid seige to the city of Qarqīsyā' and began to bombard its fortifications by catapults for forty days. Following the advice of the Kalbites, 'Abd al-Malik ordered that only the Yemenites in his army should take part in the battle which followed the seige. This decision, however, worked in the favour of Zufar and his followers who were able to cause 'Abd al-Malik's Yemenites to retreat.<sup>2</sup> 'Abd al-Malik's army at this time was composed predominantly of Yemenites, especially Kalb, Qudā'a and to a lesser extent, Kinda. There were minorities of Qaisites and Quraishites - the latter including the caliph and some Umayyad princes.<sup>3</sup>

Having failed to attain his goal by force, 'Abd al-Malik tried by peaceful means, endeavouring to reconcile Zufar. He wrote to him asking for his obedience, pointing out that the majority of Muslims recognized him

1. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.191.

2. Ansāb, V, pp.301-4; Kūfī, II, fol. 50a; Kāmil, IV, pp.275-6; ʿIbar, III, pp.81-2.

3. Ansāb, V, pp.301-5, 307 (citing al-Haytham); Kūfī, II, fol.50a; Kāmil, IV, p.276; ʿIbar, III, p.81-2.

as caliph, and inviting him to do the same. 'Abd al-Malik promised him a reward for his acceptance of this offer, and threatened him, should he refuse it.<sup>1</sup> The messengers of 'Abd al-Malik were the theologian Rajā' ibn Haiwa al-Kindī and al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī.<sup>2</sup> However, Zufar refused this offer; but his son al-Hudhail was not unwilling to accept it. This convinced 'Abd al-Malik of the possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement and led him to order his brother Muḥammad ibn Marwān to grant Zufar and his son al-Hudhail, Amān (safe conduct) for themselves and their followers and promise them favour.<sup>3</sup> Al-Hudhail again responded to this offer and managed to persuade his father to accept it. Zufar agreed on the condition that he would have the choice either of remaining loyal to Ibn al-Zubair, or of joining 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>4</sup> While these negotiations were going on, the Kalbites in 'Abd al-Malik's army opposed this agreement between the caliph and their Qaisite adversaries, and they advised the caliph to refuse Zufar's terms and instead to continue the battle. They pointed out that most of the fortifications of the city of

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1. Ansāb, V, p.305.
  2. The choice of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf and Rajā' ibn Haywa as messengers to Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith seems to have been a diplomatic one. While the first was Qaisite like Zufar's followers, Rajā' was from the Kinda tribe, to whom Zufar was related, as known to 'Abd al-Malik. Ansāb, V, p.303; Kāmil, IV, p.278. One should also note the important religious status of Rajā'.
  3. Ansāb, V, p.305.
  4. Ansāb, V, p.305; Kāmil, IV, p.277; Ibar, III, p.82.

Qarqīsyā' were already destroyed.<sup>1</sup> At first, 'Abd al-Malik gave way to this demand of his Kalbite supporters, but eventually he was forced to make peace on Zufar's terms, seeing that the war was not to be so easily won. This voluntary submission of the Qaisites may have been due to the fact that the future of Ibn al-Zubair was not yet secure, or may have been in response to the generosity of 'Abd al-Malik's terms.

The agreement between the caliph and Zufar was made on the following terms: the Caliph granted Amān to Zufar, his son al-Hudhail, and all of their followers. Zufar would bear no responsibility for his insurrection, either for the people killed, or for the money spent in the fighting. Zufar agreed not to make war against 'Abd al-Malik, but because of his previous homage to Ibn al-Zubair, he would not fight with 'Abd al-Malik against him. Finally, 'Abd al-Malik was to give Zufar a sum of money to distribute among his followers.<sup>2</sup> This agreement was sealed by a marriage contract between al-Rabāb, the daughter of Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith, and Maslama, the son of 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>3</sup> To show his loyalty to the caliph, Zufar ordered his son al-Hudhail to join 'Abd al-Malik's army against Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair,

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.303-4 (citing Madā' inī); p.305; Kāmil, IV, p.277; 'Ibar, III, p.82.

2. Ansāb, V, p.305; XI, pp.24-5 (citing 'Awāna); Kūfī, II, fol. 50b; Kāmil, IV, p.277; 'Ibar, III, p.82.

3. Jāhiz, Rasā'il, (ed. Sandūbī), p.182 (citing Madā' inī); Ansāb, V, Kāmil, IV, p.278; 'Ibar, III, p.82.

because, unlike his father, he had no commitment towards Ibn al-Zubair.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the feud between the Taghlib and the Qais started in the Jazīra, which led to a temporary lull in the raids between the Qais and the Kalb there. However, the Qais/Kalb feud broke out in a different area. The raids of Ḥumaid ibn Ḥuraith ibn Baḥdal, the sayyid of the Banū Kalb, on the Qaisites in the Jazīra had stirred up the leaders among the Qaisites in Iraq, especially of the Banū Fazāra.<sup>2</sup> Their complaints were carried to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān by 'Abdallāh ibn Mas'ada al-Fazārī, who refused to dine with the caliph as a protest against the massacre of the Banū Sulaim and the Banū 'Āmir in the raids of Ḥumaid ibn Ḥuraith ibn Baḥdal.<sup>3</sup> When Ḥumaid heard of 'Abdallāh's complaints, he decided to raid the Banū Fazāra, to whom Ibn Mas'ada belonged. This decision of Ḥumaid was welcomed by the 'Umayyad princes whose mothers were Kalbites. These princes were infuriated by the pride their half-brothers with Qaisite mothers took in the Qaisite raids on the Kalbites.<sup>4</sup> Ḥumaid, therefore, did not find it difficult to get a letter of assignment ('Ahd) in the name of 'Abd al-Malik commissioning him to collect the Ṣadaqa from the Banū Fazāra.<sup>5</sup> The latter had not yet been involved in the feuds,

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1. Ansāb, V, p.350 (citing 'Awāna); Kāmil, IV, p.278; 'Ibar, III, p.82.

2. Fazāra ibn Dhubiān ibn Baghīḍ ibn Ghaith ibn Ghatafān ibn Sa'd ibn Qais 'Ailān ibn Mudar ibn Nizār ibn Ma'ad ibn 'Adnān. See Nasab, fols. 173a-174a; Jamharāt, p.245; E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Fazāra).

3. Ansāb, V, p.309 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Agh., XVII, p.311 (citing Madā'ini).

4. Abū Tammām, Hamāsa, I, p.260.

5. Ibid., I, p.260; Ansāb, V, pp.309-310 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Agh., XVII, p.114 (citing Madā'ini); 'Asākir, VI, p.118; Mu'jam, I, p.739; =

possibly because their settlements, (Wādī 'l Rumma in Najd and southern Syria), were far from the Jazīra. After getting a false 'Ahd to collect the Sadaqa from the Banū Fazāra, Ḥumaid ibn Ḥuraith, accompanied by two hundred<sup>1</sup> cavalry men from his own people, the Kalb, marched on Banū Fazāra. He took them by surprise and killed a large number of them in a place called al-Āh.<sup>2</sup>

This raid incited the Banū Fazāra to retaliate. Their chiefs, including Asmā' ibn Khārija al-Fazārī and Khālīd ibn Dathār ibn Quraiz, met 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān at al-Nukhaila after he had defeated Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair. They raised a strong protest to him about Ḥumaid's action, and demanded Qawad (that 'Abd al-Malik should slay Ḥumaid for their revenge).<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Malik, however, found it enough to give the Banū Fazāra money to recompense for the blood of Ḥumaid had shed. He expressed his opinion by saying, "You were in Fitna (dissension), the equivalent of

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= according to Abū Tammām (op. cit., I, p.260), it was Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'awiya who prepared the 'Ahd for Ḥumaid. There is also reference to this in Balādhuri's Ansāb, IV, ii, p.68. Other sources confirm that Ḥumaid had a false 'Ahd, which he acquired as a result of the rivalry between the Umayyad princes, according to their family relation with either the Qais or the Kalb, which leads us to believe that it was Khālīd ibn Yazīd, whose mother and grand-mother were Kalbites, who was the most likely to have prepared the false 'Ahd for Ḥumaid.

1. Agh., XVII, p.119 (citing Madā' inī).
2. Abu Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, p.261; Ansāb, V, p.309 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Agh., XVII, p.113 (citing Madā' inī); Bakrī, I, p.279; Asākir, VI, p.118; Mu'jam, I, p.739.
3. Qawad and Qiṣās are synonymous, both meaning retaliation. According to Muslim law, Qawad and Qiṣās are applied in cases of killing, called =

Jāhiliyya (pre-Islamic times), and there was no Qawad in Jāhiliyya".<sup>1</sup> At first, they refused to accept only money, but came to agree, with the intention of using it to buy military equipment for retaliation.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that 'Abd al-Malik refused to take severe action against Ḥumaid and the Kalbites, because he feared to provoke against himself this strong and influential tribe and other Yemenites in Syria, especially since 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair was still holding strongly in the Ḥijāz. He may well also have hoped that the money payment would provide a peaceful end to the strife between the two parties at a time when both were equally guilty of the feud.

It is reported<sup>3</sup> that at the time of Ḥumaid's raid, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, whose mother was a Kalbite,<sup>4</sup> was boasting to his brother Bishr ibn Marwān, a son of a Qaisite mother,<sup>5</sup> in the court of 'Abd al-Malik.

= Qisās fi'l-Nafs (blood vengeance), and of wounding, called Qisās fīmā dūn al-Nafs. E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (Qisās).

1. Ansāb, V, p. 310 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī).

2. Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, p. 262; Ansāb, V, p. 310 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Agh., XVII, p. 114 (citing Madā' inī); 'Asākir, VI, p. 118.

3. Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, p. 262; Bakrī, I, p. 279; 'Asākir, VI, p. 118.

4. Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, p. 262; Ibn Qais al-Ruqayyāt, Dīwān, p. 153; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tābaqāt, p. 60; Ḥayawān, VII, p. 154; Ansāb, V, pp. 143, 164; Nasab, fol. 12b; Ma'ad, fol. 74b; 'Asākir, X, fol. 194b.

5. Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, p. 262; Ansāb, V, p. 164; Nasab, fol. 12b; Bakrī, I, p. 279; Jamharat, p. 264; 'Asākir, III, fol. 177a.



This provoked Bishr, to give money to the Banū Fazāra to help their retaliation. This story shows clearly how the ‘Aṣabiyya asserted itself even among the princes of the ruling dynasty. It was by exploiting this that Ḥumaid ibn Ḥuraith obtained the false ‘Ahd commissioning him to collect the Ṣadaqa of the Banū Fazāra.<sup>1</sup> There seems no reason to reject this story, as Wellhausen<sup>2</sup> does, simply because ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Bishr, the caliph's brothers, were the governors of Egypt and Kūfa respectively. This event may well have occurred during a visit to the court, as we know such visits did take place.<sup>3</sup>

Feeling that they were treated unjustly,<sup>4</sup> and encouraged by Bishr ibn Marwān, the Banū Fazāra used the money they received to buy military equipment. They then retaliated against the Kalbites (the Banū ‘Ulaim and Banū ‘Abd Wūdd) in a place called Banāt Qain, killing a large number of them.<sup>5</sup>

When he heard of this, ‘Abd al-Malik became very angry and ordered al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, his governor of al-Ḥijāz,<sup>6</sup> to punish

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1. See p. 178 of this ~~thesis~~ <sup>thesis</sup>.
  2. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p. 207.
  3. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 268; Kindī, p. 51, where he states that in the year 70, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān visited his brother ‘Abd al-Malik; Dhahabī, III, p. 117.
  4. Ansāb, V, p. 310.
  5. Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, p. 263; Ansāb, V, p. 311 (citing al-Kalbī); Agh., XVII, p. 115 (citing Madā’ inī); Bakrī, I, pp. 279-80; IV, p. 160; ‘Asākir, IV, p. 118; Mu‘jam, I, p. 739; III, p. 596.
  6. According to Madā’ inī (Agh., XV, II, p. 115), this day of Banat Qain happened during the governorship of al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq. This, however, =

the Banū Fazāra severely. However, Ḥalḥala ibn Qais and Saʿīd ibn ʿUyayna, the two Fazarites chiefly responsible for this feud, averted the disaster from their tribe by giving themselves up voluntarily to al-Ḥajjāj. He sent them to the caliph.<sup>1</sup> In the court at Damascus, the presence of the two offenders caused a difference of opinion among the Umayyad princes. While those of Kalbite women demanded their execution, the sons of Qaisite mothers demanded that they should pay a money recompense.<sup>2</sup> Eventually, ʿAbd al-Malik gave the two offenders to the Kalbites, who killed them in vengeance for their people.

This did not in any way mean that ʿAbd al-Malik took sides against the Qaisites. It shows only that he tried to be above the parties, and to punish the Banū Fazāra for violating his measures to end the feud.

The dates of the days of al-ʿĀh and Banāt Qain are not given precisely in our sources. However, it is possible to conjecture them from the events of the period. According to *Madāʾ inī*,<sup>3</sup> Ḥumaid's raid on the Banū ʿĀmir and Banū Sulaim (the day of al-ʿĀh) took place before Muṣʿab ibn al-Zubair had been killed by ʿAbd al-Malik. This has been confirmed by Ibn al-Kalbī.<sup>4</sup>

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= could not be possible, since Bishr ibn Marwān was present at the court when Saʿīd and Ḥalḥala gave themselves up. Al-Ḥajjāj did not receive the governorship of Iraq until the year 25, when he replaced Bishr after the latter's death.

1. Abū Tammām, *op. cit.*, I, p. 263; *Ansāb*, V, p. 311 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); *Agh.*, XVII, p. 115 (citing *Madāʾ inī*); Bakrī, I, pp. 279-80; ʿAsākir, VI, p. 118.

2. *Ansāb*, V, p. 311 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); *Agh.*, XVII, p. 116 (citing *Madāʾ inī*); Bakrī, I, p. 280; ʿAsākir, VI, p. 118.

3. *Agh.*, XVII, p. 114 (citing *Madāʾ inī*).

4. *Ansāb*, V, p. 310.

Moreover the two sources state clearly that it was after the death of Muṣ'ab that the Banū Fazāra complained to 'Abd al-Malik about Ḥumaid's raid of the day of al-'Āh. This makes it clear that the day of al-'Āh could not have occurred after the year 72/691, the year of Muṣ'ab's death. As for the day of Banāt Qain, our sources<sup>1</sup> say that al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf was the governor of al-Ḥijāz when 'Abd al-Malik ordered him to punish the Banū Fazāra. Judging from the fact that al-Ḥajjāj was appointed the governor of al-Ḥijāz in the year 73/692 and was only transferred to the governorship of Iraq in the year 75/694, the day of Banāt Qain must have taken place some time between 73/692 and 75/694. Therefore, it would seem that Dozy<sup>2</sup> was wrong in putting the day of Banāt Qain in Mu'āwīya's time.

As one would expect, the Kalbites who suffered at Banāt Qain were not satisfied by the killing of the two chiefs of the Banū Fazāra. They began to prepare for a fuller retaliation. When news of this reached the ears of 'Abd al-Malik, he threatened them, saying that "he would kill as many of them as they killed from the Qaisites".<sup>3</sup> Thus, 'Abd al-Malik once again showed himself above the parties. This threat seems to have been effective in that we do not hear of any other "days" during 'Abd al-Malik's reign, and the day of

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1. Ansāb, V, p.311 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Bakrī, I, pp.279-80; 'Asākir, VI, p.118.

2. Dozy, Spanish Islam, p.69, London, 1913.

3. Ansāb, V, p.311 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Agh., XVII, p.115 (citing Madd' inī).

Banāt Qain was the last of the famous "days" between Qais and Kalb.

Despite the fact that they were both Nizarite, the relations between Taghlib and Qais were far from cordial. The feuds between them were almost constant. The exception was when a small group of the Taghlib joined 'Umar ibn al-Hubāb in his raids on the Kalbites.<sup>1</sup> But one may assume that on this occasion they were forced to act so, for fear of 'Umar and his Qaisites, in command of the Jazīra at that time.

The campaigns of the conquest which brought the Qaisites into the Jazīra region made them close neighbours of the Banū Taghlib who were already living there. But the Qaisites' maltreatment of their neighbours caused strained relations between the two.<sup>2</sup> The situation deteriorated when 'Umar ibn al-Hubāb with the Banū Sulaim settled on the Khābūr river.<sup>3</sup>

The tense situation exploded when a man from Banū al-Ḥarīsh (from the Banū 'Āmir) slaughtered a goat belonging to a Taghlibite woman called Um Dawbal. As a result, her son Dawbal made a raid on the Banū al-Ḥarīsh. The Qaisites' answer to this raid was to kill three men from the Taghlib and to take a number of their camels.<sup>4</sup> In an attempt to put an end to these encroachments some of the Banū Taghlib went to Zufar ibn al-Hāthith al-Kilābī, the

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.308, 313; Agh., XVII, p.112 (citing Madā' inī); Kāmil, IV, p.254, p.254.

2. Ansāb, V, p.314.

3. Ansāb, V, p.314; Agh., XX, p.126.

4. Al-Akhtal, Dīwān, pp.35-7; Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, p.66; Ansāb, V, pp.314ff.; Agh., XX, pp.126ff.

sayyid of the Qais at the time, asking him to return to them their camels, to pay compensation for the three men killed by the Qaisites, and to ask 'Umais ibn al-Ḥubāb to leave the region of the Khābūr, for as long as he stayed there, the feud would continue.<sup>1</sup> While Zufar agreed to the first two demands, he refused the third one. He tried in vain to convince them to give up the idea of expelling 'Umais from the Khābūr region. Meanwhile, the Taghlib attacked some Qaisite villages near Qarqīsyā', but were defeated. Iyās ibn al-Kharrāz, a Taghlibite sharīf, sought a peaceful solution by going to Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith in Qarqīsyā' to negotiate; however, he was killed by a fanatic Qaisite. Zufar paid the ransom for this murder and reconciled his people.<sup>2</sup>

Wellhausen<sup>3</sup> sees in Zufar's attempts to reconcile the Taghlibites a move to prevent them going over to the Umayyad side. But the Banū Taghlib were already described in our sources<sup>4</sup> as pro-Marwānid (Marwāniyya), and are even said to have fought with Marwān against the Qaisites in the battle of Marj Rāhit.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that Zufar was trying either to get Taghlib's help against his bitter enemies, the Kalbites, or at least ensure their neutrality in the conflict with Kalb.

It would seem, however, that 'Umais did not like this peaceful

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1. Agh., XX, p.127.
  2. Ibid., XX, p.127.
  3. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.204.
  4. Ansāb, V, p.314, p.328 (citing 'Awana).
  5. Abū Tammām, Hamāsa, I, p.71.

settlement, and that he hoped to expel the Taghlib from the Jazīra, as he had the Kalbites before.<sup>1</sup> This was no doubt as a reaction to the

Taghlib demand for Zufar to force 'Umais to leave the Khābūr region.

'Umais went to Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair and told him that he had already forced Qudā'a to settle in Syria and there only remained the Christian Taghlib in the Jazīra. He asked Muṣ'ab to give him authority over them.<sup>2</sup> Probably

he convinced Muṣ'ab that "being Christians, they were under suspicion of sympathy with the Syrians".<sup>3</sup> 'Umais managed to get permission to collect

dues from them, but Muṣ'ab only granted this commission subject to the

consent of Zufar ibn al-Hārith. The latter, being convinced that 'Umais

would not treat the Banū Taghlib fairly, but would seize this opportunity to

give free reign to his hostility, sent others to the Banū Taghlib ordering them

to treat the latter kindly. When the Banū Taghlib refused to pay their dues to

these men, Zufar sent them again to inform the Banū Taghlib that they

were acting on the orders of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair; they would have to pay

the dues or he would fight them. The Taghlibites answered this by killing some

of Zufar's men.<sup>4</sup> This action infuriated Zufar, and he sent their bitter enemy

'Umais ibn al-Hubāb with the Qaisites against them. The Taghlib under

1. See p. 175

2. Agh., XX, p. 127.

3. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p. 204.

4. Agh., XX, pp. 127-8.

Shu'aib ibn Mulaij, met 'Umar at a place called Māksīn (also called Māks and Khābūr). In this battle the Banū Taghlib suffered a defeat and their leader Shu'aib was killed with a large number of his followers.<sup>1</sup> This battle was the first large scale confrontation between Qais and Taghlib.

Zufar was considerably upset to see the two sons of Nizār fighting each other, while their common enemy, the Kalbites, were left unmolested.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, 'Abd al-Malik found that this conflict played into his hand, on two accounts: firstly, because it weakened both sides, thus, he hoped, rendering them more amenable to his control in the future; secondly, because it prevented the Qaisites from helping his enemy Mus'ab ibn al-Zubair.

The Taghlib did not let their massacre in the day of <sup>Kj</sup>Māksīn go without revenge. They received re-inforcements from Rabī'a in al-Jazīra and Iraq, especially from al-Nimr ibn Qāsīt and Banū Shāibān.<sup>3</sup> They chose as their leader the Taghlibite, Ziyād or Yazīd ibn Hubar.<sup>4</sup> Hearing that they were gathered for battle, 'Umar ibn al-Hubāb appealed to the Asad and Tamīm for help, but neither responded.<sup>5</sup> He, therefore, decided to meet them with his own people, the Banū Sulaim in this battle, which was called "Yawm al-

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1. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, pp.230-1; Ansāb, V, pp.316-7 Agh., XX, pp.127-8; Kāmil, IV, p.255.
  2. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, p.27; Ansāb, V, p.320; Agh., XX, p.127.
  3. Ansāb, V, p.318; Agh., XI, p.61ff. (citing Abū 'Ubaida).
  4. Nasab, fol. 229b; he called him Ḥanzala ibn Qais ibn Hubar.
  5. Ansāb, V, p.318; Agh., XI, p.62 (citing Abū 'Ubaida).

Tharthār al-Awwal", the Qaisites suffered a severe defeat in which many of them were killed, while thirty women from the Banū Sulaim had their stomachs opened as a reprisal for the day of Māksīn.<sup>1</sup>

The defeat of the Qaisites in the day of al-Tharthār al-Awwal was so grave that Zufar ibn al-Hārith, before this time hesitant to involve himself in the feud, came from Qarqīsyā' to help 'Umar in his retaliation against the Taghlib. These two, with Banū 'Āmir and Sulaim, met the Taghlib under Ibn Hubar again on the Tharthār, which gave its name to the battle, "the day of al-Tharthār al-Thānī". When battle was joined, the Banū 'Āmir fled but the Banū Sulaim remained firm and were able to inflict a defeat on the Taghlib.<sup>2</sup>

However, neither the victory of the Qais nor the defeat of the Taghlib in these two "days" put an end to this feud. We hear of "days" called, al-Fudain, al-Sukair, al-Mu'arik, Lubbā, al-Shar'abiyya, Balad, and al-Bulaikh.<sup>3</sup> On all of these "days", the Qais were victorious, apart from the indecisive "day of Lubbā", and the "day of al-Shar'abiyya", which was a victory for the Taghlib.

To break this run of successful Qaisite raids against them, the Taghlib

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1. Al-Akhtal, Dīwān, pp.132-4; Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, pp.34, 107; Ansāb, V, pp.318-19; Agh., XI, pp.61-2 (citing Abū 'Ubaida).
  2. Ansāb, V, p.320; Kāmil, IV, p.256.
  3. Jarīr, Dīwān, p.54; Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, pp.80 and 113; Ansāb, V, pp.321-23; Kāmil, IV, pp.256-58.



drew up forces from both the desert and the towns. As in the "day of al-Tharthār al-Thānī", the Qaisites were under both 'Umais ibn al-Ḥubāb and Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith. The Taghlib, headed by Ibn Hubar, met them in al-Ḥashshāk and the bitter fighting lasted for three days. On the third day, Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith with the Banū 'Āmir fled to Qarqīsyā'. To justify his defeat, he later claimed that he had heard news that 'Abd al-Malik had marched against him in Qarqīsyā'. Whether this pretext was true or not, 'Umais met the Taghlib alone; his followers were defeated, and 'Umais was killed in battle.<sup>1</sup> The Banū Taghlib joyfully sent his head to Damascus as a sign of their loyalty to 'Abd al-Malik,<sup>2</sup> but Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith was moved to sorrow and expressed this in sad verses.<sup>3</sup> As for the date of the battle, according to Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt and Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>4</sup> it was the year 70/689. This date sounds authentic as 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān only in that year felt himself free enough from cares at home to deal with Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith and the Qaisites in Qarqīsyā'.

The death of 'Umais ibn al-Ḥubāb did not go unrevenge. His brother

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1. Al-Akht al, *Dīwān*, pp. 33, 106, 151, 220; Al-Qatāmī, *Dīwān*, p. 89ff.; Naqā'id, 1, 373, where it is called the "Day of Sinjār"; Abū Tammām, *Naqā'id Jarīr wal-Akht al*, pp. 33, 34, 117-18, 160; Ansāb, V, p. 323; Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-Shu'arā'*, p. 245; Kāmil, IV, p. 258ff.; Bakrī, p. 338 (here it is called the Day of al-Tharthār).
  2. Ansāb, V, pp. 325, 327; Kāmil, IV, pp. 259-60.
  3. Ansāb, V, p. 325.
  4. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p. 262 (citing al-Layth); Kāmil, IV, pp. 258-60.

Tamīm ibn al-Ḥubāb came to Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith asking him to take vengeance. Zufar, however, at first was unwilling to undertake this task, but under the persuasion of his son al-Hudhail, he bound himself to do it. Zufar then left his brother Aws ibn al-Ḥārith as his deputy in Qarqīsyā', probably to watch the movements of 'Abd al-Malik against him. Before Zufar himself advanced against Taghlib, he sent Yazīd ibn Ḥamrān against the Banū Fadukis, killing their men and proscribing their properties. Zufar also sent Muslim ibn Rabī' al-Uqailī, who surprised a gathering of Taghlib, and killed a number of them. Muslim then marched against the main body of the Taghlib, who were gathered in a place called al-Aqīq in Mūsīl. The Taghlib fled before him, attempting to cross the Tigris. When they reached al-Kuḥail, they were followed by Zufar with the Qaisites. The Taghlib suffered a severe defeat; even more of them were drowned in the Tigris in flight, than were killed in the battle. Those who survived went to Lubba, but were followed by al-Hudhail ibn Zufar, who killed all those except the few who managed to cross the river.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 73/692, when 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair was killed and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān was recognized as the sole caliph, there was a temporary lull in the feud between Qais and Taghlib. This was mainly

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1. Jarīr, *Dīwān*, pp. 244, 362-63; Naqā' id, I, p. 507; Abū Zaid al-Qurashī, *Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab*, p. 169; Abū Tammām, *Naqā' id Jarīr wal Akht al*, pp. 90-91, 226-27; *Ansāb*, V, pp. 326-27; *Agh.*, XI, pp. 58-9 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba); *Kāmil*, IV, pp. 260-61.

due to the policy of 'Abd al-Malik in keeping in check all parties. However, under this apparent peace, the hostility between them was smouldering and needed only an opportunity to flare up again. Such an occasion arose when the Taghlib poet, al-Akhtal, boasted of the prowess of his clansmen to al-Jahhāf Ibn Hukaim al-Sulamī, in the court of 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>1</sup> Infuriated by this boast, al-Jahhāf ibn Hukaim contrived to get a letter of assignment ('Ahd) for himself, by which he was appointed to collect tax from Bakr and Taghlib in the region of al-Jazīra. Accompanied by a considerable Qaisite cavalry, al-Jahhāf set out for al-Jazīra. On his way, he told his followers that his intention was to spill the blood of the Banū Taghlib, and that his 'Ahd was false. He then said, "You have the choice between Hell if you follow me, and disgrace if you do not."<sup>2</sup> They chose to follow him. He surprised the Taghlib at a place called al-Bishr, or al-Rahūb, or Mukhāshin, and made a fearful massacre among them. A son of al-Akhtal is said to have been killed, and al-Akhtal himself was seized as prisoner, but was set free because they thought he was a slave.<sup>3</sup> On being released, he returned to 'Abd al-Malik

1. Akhtal, Dīwān, p.268; Naqā'id, I, pp.401-2, 507-8; Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, p.228ff.; Jumhūr, p.411ff.; Shu'arā', pp.303-4; Ansāb, V, p.228 ff.; Mubarrad, II, p.98 (citing al-Zubair ibn Bakkār); Amīdī, p.76; Shinā'at, p.87; Kāmil, IV, p.261 ff.; Bughya, fols. 46-7.
2. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, p.229; Agh., XI, p.59 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba); Bughya, fol. 48.
3. Al-Akhtal, Dīwān, pp.10-11; Jarīr, Dīwān, pp.25, 49, 50, 87, 88, 199, 200, 366, 367, 381, 382; Naqā'id, I, pp.401; 507ff.; Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, pp.173, 186, 228ff.; Jumhūr, p.412; Shu'arā', p.303; Ansāb, V, p.328; Agh., XI, p.59 (citing =

with the news of this massacre, and asked for his help to punish al-Jahhāf. Fearing the caliph's punishment, al-Jahhāf fled to the territory of the Byzantines and remained there until the Qaisites managed to persuade 'Abd al-Malik to grant him Amām.<sup>1</sup>

Realizing that if he let this occasion pass without any decisive action, the feud between the two parties would never cease, 'Abd al-Malik tried as much as possible to satisfy both sides. On the one hand, 'Abd al-Malik forced al-Jahhāf to pay money as compensation to the Taghlib for the blood shed in the "day of al-Bishr". On the other, 'Abd al-Malik made his own son al-Walīd, whose mother was a Qaisite (from Banū 'Abs), pay a money recompense to both sides, for all the bloodshed between them before the "day of al-Bishr".<sup>2</sup> The choice of al-Walīd for this task was because the Taghlib were the ones who had suffered most in the feud, and moreover, by this device, both sides would feel that they were treated equally, with neither of them having the upper hand as a result of these feuds. However, al-Jahhāf was unable to pay the money set as compensation, for it was well beyond his financial means. In order to honour his promise to the caliph and to save his life, he went to Iraq where al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was governor. Al-Jahhāf appealed to

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= 'Umar ibn Shabba); Āmidī, p.76; Ishtiqāq, II, p.187; Mu'jam, I, p.362, Kāmil, IV, p.261ff.; Bughya, fol. 46ff.

1. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, p.229; Ansāb, V, p.330; Agh., XI, p.60 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba); Sinā'atayn, p.87; Kāmil, IV, p.263; Bughya, fol. 49 (citing Ibn al-Sakīt).

2. Abū Tammām, Naqā'id Jarīr wal Akhtal, p.229; Ansāb, V, p.330; Bughya, fol. 49 (citing Ibn al-Sakīt).

him for help, as the most influential man among the Qais at the time. After some hesitation, for he did not wish to be accused of spending the money of the Muslims in the interests of his own people, al-Ḥajjāj agreed to help, and gave al-Jaḥḥāf half of his own annual salary.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that in aiding al-Jaḥḥāf financially, al-Ḥajjāj was following the same policy as the caliph himself, in seeking a peaceful end to the tribal feud between Qais and Taghlib.

In the end, al-Jaḥḥāf ibn Ḥukaim and his companions undertook to make a pilgrimage to Mecca in repentance and there to ask God for forgiveness. Thus the feud between Qais and Taghlib came to an end during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, as a result of the latter's policy towards the tribes.

The ‘Arab tribes which settled in Khurāsān after its conquest carried with them their rivalries and jealousy. Rivalry for power was clear from the very beginning among the leaders who participated in the conquest of the country, a good example of which was the rivalry between Qais ibn al-Haitham al-Sulamī and his kinsman ‘Abdallah ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Abū Tammām, *Naqā’ id Jarīr wal Akḥḥ al*, p. 229-30; *Ansāb*, V, pp. 329-30; *Agh.*, XI, pp. 60. (citing ‘Umar ibn Shabba); *Kāmil*, IV, p. 263; *Bughya*, fols. 49-50 (citing Ibn al-Sakīt).
  2. *Ansāb*, fol. 593a; *Futūḥ*, pp. 408-9; *Tab.*, II, pp. 65-6 (citing Madā’ inī); ‘*Asākir*, VIII, pp. 377-8; *E. I.*<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn Khāzim).

The political troubles in Syria and Iraq in the period following the death of the caliph Yazīd I had their repercussions in Khurāsān and other Eastern provinces. The disturbances started first in Sistān, when the death of Yazīd was followed by a revolt in Kābul. As a result, the governor Yazīd ibn Ziyād was killed and his brother Abū 'Ubaida was taken prisoner. Their brother, Salm ibn Ziyād, then the governor of Khurāsān, sent Ṭalḥa ibn 'Abdallah al-Khuzā'i as the new governor of Sistān. The latter managed to release Abū 'Ubaida by paying a ransom of five thousand dirhams.<sup>1</sup>

The new governor of Sistān, Ṭalḥa, was soon to die, and he appointed as his successor a Bakrite from Banū Yashkur. This appointment infuriated the Muḍarites, who drove the Bakrite from his office, thus causing hostility (Aṣabiyya) to flare up between Rabī'a and Muḍar.<sup>2</sup> This state of affairs encouraged the Zunbīl<sup>3</sup> to exploit the situation. Al-Qubā', Ibn al-Zubair's governor of Baṣra, therefore sent 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Āmir as governor to Sistān. He fought the Zunbīl and killed him, but was forced by the Tamīmīte 'Abdallah ibn Nāshir to leave the country. When, however, Ibn Nāshir entered the city of Ziranj, he himself was driven out and killed by another Tamīmīte, Wakī' ibn Abī al-Aswad, and thus 'Abd al-'Azīz was able to return once more to the city.<sup>4</sup>

1. Futūḥ, pp. 387-8; Tab., II, pp. 488-9 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p. 84.

2. Futūḥ, p. 398; Kāmil, IV, p. 84.

3. Zunbīl is a regnal title and not a personal name, the exact form of which is somewhat uncertain. Bosworth, Sistān Under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquests to the Rise of the Saffarīds, pp. 34-6, Rome, 1968.

4. Futūḥ, p. 398.

In Khurāsān, the governor, Salm ibn Ziyād, at first tried to keep secret the news of the caliph's death and those of his brothers in Sistān and Baṣra. When he could no longer keep this secret, he asked the Arabs in Khurāsān to pay him homage, until the unity of the Muslims should be restored by the election of a new caliph. They agreed, but soon betrayed their homage, and Salm then found himself forced to leave Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> Before leaving, he appointed al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra as his deputy governor. But the Bakrites found it humiliating to submit to the insignificant Azdite.

(ضاحك كليل نزارهتي وليه رحيله من) Therefore, Sulaimān ibn Marthad al-Bakrī, meeting Salm ibn Ziyād in Sarkhas, forced him to appoint him as governor of Mervarūd, Faryāb, Ṭāliqān and Jurjān. Salm was also forced to appoint another Bakrite, Aws ibn Tha'laba, as governor of Herat.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, 'Abdallah ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī, who since an early date had also tried to get the governorship of Khurāsān, met Salm at Nishāpūr. Ibn Khāzim asked Salm whom he had appointed as his deputy. When the latter told him, Ibn Khāzim, surprised, answered, "Could you not find a Muḍarite, rather than divide Khurāsān between Bakr ibn Wā'il and Muzūn 'Umān' (Azd)?" (اما وجدته من مضر رحيله من) He also managed to get from Salm a patent

1. Ansāb, fol. 593b; Futūḥ, p.413; Tab. II, pp.488-9 (citing Madā'ini).
2. Tab., II, p.489 (citing Madā'ini). Professor S. al-'Alī considers these appointments as being willingly given by Salm ibn Ziyād to satisfy the tribes in Khurāsān. Istīṭān al-'Arab fī Khurāsān, pp.48-9, MKAB, III, 1958. While there is no evidence to support this view, it seems more likely that Salm only made these appointments to save his life with no intention of keeping the balance between the tribes.

as governor of Khurāsān, and a subsidy of one hundred thousand dirhams. Then Ibn Khāzim returned to Merv.<sup>1</sup> This complicated situation made imminent an outbreak of conflict between Rabī'ā and Muḍar. These reports of Salm's appointments, however, may well be fabrications of a later date, "Tribal traditions trying to legitimatize the subsequent actions of their heroes".<sup>2</sup>

Finding himself unable to face both Rabī'ā and Muḍar, al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufra departed from Merv, leaving a Tamīmīte as his deputy, thus adding to the confusion. The weakness shown by al-Muhallab was due to the fact that the Azdites were few in number in Khurāsān at this time.<sup>3</sup> Al-Muhallab's deputy tried to prevent Ibn Khāzim from entering Merv, but was defeated and died of his wounds in the struggle.<sup>4</sup>

However, the rivalry between Bakr and Tamīm turned out to favour Ibn Khāzim. Although he was not Tamīmīte, as a Muḍarīte he gained the support of Banū Tamīm. The Rabī'ītes, however, were not prepared to leave

1. Ansāb, fol. 593b; Futūḥ, p.414; Ya'qūbī, II, p.323; Tab., II, p.489 (citing Mada'inī); Ghurār, fol. 4.

2. Sha'bān, op. cit., pp.67-8.

3. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.417.

4. Tab., II, pp.490-1 (citing Mada'inī).



the Muḍarites to exploit Khurāsān unopposed,<sup>1</sup> (من ما يأكل هو لاء) and soon afterwards, fighting started between Ibn Khāzim, supported by Muḍar (Qais and Tamīm) and Sulaimān ibn Marthad with the Rabi'ites (Bakr and other Rabi'ite branches) in Mervarūd. Sulaimān was killed and his followers defeated. Then Ibn Khāzim went to al-Ṭālikān and inflicted another defeat on Bakr, killing 'Amr ibn Marthad, a brother of Sulaimān, who held the city. The defeated Barkites fled to Herāt, where they joined Aws ibn Tha'laba in the hopes that they could expel Ibn Khāzim and the Muḍar from Khurāsān.<sup>2</sup> The Banū Ṣuhaib among them were most enthusiastic to this idea, and thus Aws was forced to act against his will.

As in Syria, these tribal rivalries had political implications, in as much as the Muḍarites were opposing the direct authority of the Umayyads, preferring the rather loose authority of Ibn al-Zubair; the Rabi'ites, on the other hand, opposed the Zubairids, largely because of their fear and jealousy of the Muḍarites.<sup>3</sup>

This conflict between Rabi'a and Muḍar did not arise without leading some of the Muḍarites to seek a peaceful solution; Ibn Khāzim was forced to

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1. Futūḥ, p.414.

2. Futūḥ, p.414; Tab., II, pp.480-91 (citing Mada'inī).

3. Shā'bān, op. cit., p.83.

negotiation with the Rabī'ites. These negotiations failed, since the Rabī'ites were not prepared to accept anything less than the expulsion of Muḍar from Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, Ibn Khāzim left his son Mūsā in Merv, and marched against them in Herāt. The Rabī'ites fortified themselves by digging a ditch. The fighting between them and Ibn Khāzim continued for about a year. In order to incite the Rabī'ites, Ibn Khāzim said to them, "You have shut yourselves up in your ditch: are you prepared to accept that ditch as your share of Khurāsān?" Enraged by this, they left their strong position, and suffered very heavy losses in lives. Aws ibn Tha'labā, who was wounded in this battle, fled to Sistān to take refuge with the Zunbīl, but died before arriving.<sup>2</sup> These two successive crushing defeats left the Bakrites powerless, and Ibn Khāzim and the Muḍar dominant in Khurāsān. This also had its echo in Baṣra, for, according to al-Mada'ini, when the news of it reached Baṣra, al-Aḥnaf ibn Qais and other Tamīmīte chiefs went to Mālik ibn Misma', the chief of the Rabī'a there, to apologize. This move, however, was spoilt by the verbal aggression of one of al-Aḥnaf's colleagues at this meeting. Mālik burnt down the houses of the Tamīmītes in

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1. Tab., II, pp.494-5 (citing Mada'ini). Here the narrative of Mada'ini ends, but it is completed by that of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī.
  2. Futūḥ, pp.414-5; Tab., II, pp.491-6. This fighting between Rabī'a and Muḍar occupied the period 64-65.

Basra as a reprisal for the slaughter of the Bakr in Herāt.<sup>1</sup>

The peace in Khurāsān was only of a short duration. Hostility soon flared up among the Mudarites themselves, i.e., Qais against Tamīm. Our sources are unanimously silent about the reason for this hostility, apart from a chance narrative in Ṭabarī,<sup>2</sup> repeated by both Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwairī. The narrative says that after Ibn Khāzim had used the Tamīm to defeat the Rabīʿites and become the sole master of the whole of Khurāsān, he neglected them. This negligence could not be other than a reluctance to give them office, or at least, not giving them as much as they expected as their share of the revenue of Khurāsān.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Khāzim appointed his son Muḥammad governor of Herāt, and left him for assistants, two Tamīmītes, Shammās ibn Dathār al-ʿUtāridī and Bukair ibn Washāḥ, who was head of the Shurṭa. It seems that beyond this, Ibn Khāzim was not prepared to give any concessions to the Banū Tamīm, who were not satisfied with these appointments. It was probably for this reason that when Banū Tamīm went to Herāt, Ibn Khāzim wrote to Shammās ibn Dathār and Bukair Ibn Washāḥ ordering them to prevent Banū Tamīm from entering the city. Shammās refused to obey this order, and joined his people,

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1. Ansāb, fol. 496b (citing Madāʾinī); Ṭab., II, pp.451-2.

2. Ṭab., II, p.593; Kāmil, IV, p.171; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 52.

3. Al-ʿAlī suggests that Ibn Khāzim relied on the Ahl al-ʿĀliya and not on the Tamīmītes, and therefore the latter opposed him. Al-ʿAlī, Istīṭān al-ʿArab fi Khurāsān, p.51, MKAB, III, Baghdad 1958.

while Bukair complied with the order. This difference was due to the personal hostility between Bukair and Shammās. Bukair promised Shammās thirty thousand dirhams for himself, and a thousand for each of the Banū Tamīm if they withdrew. They refused, and entered the city, killing Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Khāzim in revenge for two Tamīmītes he had killed by lashing.<sup>1</sup> The Banū Tamīm then went to Merv, where they were joined by other Tamīmītes, and chose al-Ḥarīsh ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qurai‘ī as their leader in the struggle against Ibn Khāzim. The war between the latter and the Banū Tamīm is said to have lasted for two years.<sup>2</sup> The Tamīmītes found themselves unable to overcome Ibn Khāzim. They therefore adopted the plan of dividing their forces, with one group leaving Merv to entice Ibn Khāzim to follow them, and thus enabling those who remained in Merv to seize the city.<sup>3</sup> Following this policy, Baḥīr ibn Warqā’ went to Nishāpūr, Shammās to Sistān, ‘Uthmān ibn al-Muḥtafar and Zuhair ibn Dhu’aib al-‘Adawī to Fartana, and al-Ḥarīsh ibn Hilāl al-Qurai‘ī to Mervarūd.<sup>4</sup> But this division made it possible for Ibn Khāzim to defeat them, by attacking one group at a time. He began

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1. Futūḥ, p.415; Tab., II, pp.496, 593-4 (citing Madā’inī); Ghurār, fol. 4; Kāmil, IV, p.171; Nuwairī XIX, fols. 52-4.

2. Tab., II, p.595 (citing Madā’inī); Kāmil, IV, p.172. This, however, might have included the war against Bakr also. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, pp.419-20.

3. Futūḥ, p.415.

4. Tab., II, p.596, (citing Madā’inī); Kāmil, IV, p.172; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 53-4.

with al-Ḥarīsh and forced him to leave Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> He then turned to Zuhair and his followers, who surrendered unconditionally. Ibn Khāzim killed them all in revenge of his son Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup> Finally, he set out to fight Bahīr ibn Warqā' and his followers in Nishāpur.

Before leaving Merv to fight Bahīr, Ibn Khāzim made Bukair his deputy there, and ordered his son Mūsā to cross the C xus and to seek refuge in a fortress, or with a king there.<sup>3</sup> This was because Ibn Khāzim feared that the Tamīmites might kill Mūsā as they had killed his brother Muḥammad before.

When Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair was killed, 72/691, Ibn Khāzim was still fighting Bahīr ibn Warqā'. At this time, 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Ibn Khāzim asking his "bai'a" and promising him in return the governorship of Khurāsān for a term of seven years. Ibn Khāzim, who had secured the country by his own sword, would not accept this offer. He considered it as little more than an insult, and made the messenger eat the letter of 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen<sup>5</sup> thinks that the reason for Ibn Khāzim's refusal to

1. Ṭab., II, p.596; Kāmil, IV, p.172; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 52-4.

2. Ṭab., II, pp.696-8; Kāmil, IV, p.210; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 54-7.

3. Futūḥ, p.415; Ṭab., II, pp.1145-6; Kāmil, IV, p.402.

4. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.296; Futūḥ, p.415; Ansāb, fol. 593b; Ya'qūbī, II, pp.323-4; Bulḍān, p.81; Ṭab., II, pp.831-2 (citing Madā'inī), 834-5; Ghurār, fol. 4; Ḥad', VI, p.27; Kāmil, IV, p.282; Bidāya, VIII, p.325; Ibar, III, p.83.

5. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.420.

recognize 'Abd al-Malik, was that he wanted to rule independently. However, it is clearly stated in the sources,<sup>1</sup> that the refusal was because of his "Bai'a" to Ibn al-Zubair.

Failing to obtain Ibn Kh̄azim's homage, 'Abd al-Malik offered the governorship of Khurāsān to Bukair ibn Washāḥ, Ibn Kh̄azim's representative. He accepted the offer and called the people to the "Bai'a" of 'Abd al-Malik, with which they willingly complied. This popular willingness to renounce Ibn Kh̄azim sprang from the cruelty and ill-will he had shown to Banū Tamīm.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Kh̄azim found himself unable to face both Bukair ibn Washāḥ and Bahīr ibn Warqā' and therefore he decided to join his son Mūsā in al-Tirmidh. However, he did not succeed in reaching him, for he was overtaken by Bahīr and killed, after putting up a stiff resistance, by Wakī' i ibn al-Dawraqiyya, in 72/691.<sup>3</sup>

The death of Ibn Kh̄azim, however, did not put an end to the feud in Khurāsān. A new feud now broke out between the Tamīmites themselves. Bukair ibn Washāḥ stole the head of Ibn Kh̄azim from the killer, and sent it to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān in Damascus. He not only told the caliph that he had killed Ibn Kh̄azim himself, but he also put Bahīr, the one really

1. Yaq'ūbī, II, p.324; Ṭab., II, pp.1145-6; Kāmil, IV, p.402.

2. Ansāb, fol. 593; Futūḥ, p.415-6; Ya'qūbī, II, p.324; Buldān, p.81; Ṭab., II, pp.832-3 (citing Madā'inī); 'Asākir, IX, fol. 81b; Kāmil, IV, p.282; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 70; Dhahabī, III, pp.111-2; Bidāya, VIII, p.325; Ibar, III, p.83; Tahdhīb, V, p.195.

responsible for his death, in prison.<sup>1</sup> This action not only started the rivalry between Baḥīr and Bukair which continued until the latter's death, but also had another serious consequence. It severely strained the relations between Banū Muqā'is ibn 'Amr and al-Buṭūn, and the Banū 'Awf ibn Ka'b and the Abnā'. The first supported Baḥīr, while the latter supported Bukair.<sup>2</sup> The old feud which Khurāsān had witnessed since the death of Yazīd I, and this new tension between the two Tamīmīte branches created a state of affairs at the time so serious that the people of Khurāsān were brought to reconsider their position. They realized that such a state of instability would encourage their enemies to attack them. This led them to believe that stability and peace would return to Khurāsān, only if they could find a neutral governor, not belonging to any one of the rival groups in Khurāsān. Accordingly, they wrote to 'Abd al-Malik asking him to send a Quraishite governor, who would stand above the envy and rivalry of the tribes. 'Abd al-Malik then sent them Umayya ibn 'Abdallah ibn Khalīd ibn Asīd, in the year 74/693, who was both an Umayyad and a Quraishite.<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Malik instructed him not to take sides in the feud, but to engage the people of Khurāsān in the jihād against the Turks; and to take trouble to collect and develop the revenue of the country.

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1. Farazdaq, Dīwān, I, p. 90; Ṭab., II, pp. 832-834; Kāmil, IV, p. 282.

2. Ṭab., II, p. 680; Jamharat, pp. 207-8; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 8b.

3. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 297; Muhtalīn, p. 176; Futūḥ, p. 416; Buldān, p. 81; Ṭab., II, pp. 860-1 (citing Madā'inī); Ghurār, fol. 5; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 8b; Dhahabī, III, p. 117; Ibar, III, pp. 91-2.

Bah̄ir met Umayya on his arrival in Nishāpūr and tried to incite him against Bukair, without success. Umayya offered the leadership of the Shurṭa to Bukair. The latter, being ex-governor of Khurāsān, felt it beneath him to accept this office. His rival Bah̄ir, however, was prepared to accept the post, probably in the belief that it would help him to execute his plan of vengeance against Bukair.<sup>1</sup> However, Umayya did not remove any of the officials appointed by Bukair. It would appear that he was following instructions from ‘Abd al-Malik, to avoid favouring either Bukair or Bah̄ir, but to try to reconcile them both. This was the reason for his appointment in the first place. Moreover, with both Bukair and Bah̄ir in such a strong position, Umayya would have to attempt to win them both to his side if he expected to have any authority in the caliph's name.

Bukair, however, was infuriated by both the appointment of Umayya as governor of Khurāsān and by the hostile attitude of Bah̄ir towards him, and he seized his opportunity to act when Umayya set out on one of his campaigns. Being left in Merv as Umayya's deputy, Bukair seized the city. Hearing of this, Umayya hurried back and besieged Bukair for four months.<sup>2</sup> When he found that he was unable to defeat him, for Bukair had secured the money

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1. Muhtalīn, p. 176; Tab., II, pp. 860-2 (citing Mada' inī); Kūfī, II, fols. 58a-58b; Ghurār, fol. 6; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 8b-9a; Dhahabī, III, p. 117; Ibar, III, pp. 91-2.

1. Kūfī, I, 58b.



and the men of Merv for himself, Umayya entered into peace negotiations with him. These were welcomed by Bukair, probably because he was not sure of the continuing support of the people of Merv. Bukair and Umayya agreed that Umayya should pay Bukair's debts, give him a large sum of money for himself, and that he should give Bukair a period of forty days to go wherever he wished in Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> Bukair chose to remain in Merv. This settlement was made in the year 77/696.

‘Abd al-Malik, however, became impatient with Umayya's failure to carry out his instructions on appointment, and relieved him of office. The responsibility for the area was given to the capable al-Ḥajjāj, who appointed al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra.

The rivalry between Bukair and Baḥr continued, the latter continually warning Umayya against Bukair, until he was eventually convinced that Bukair was conspiring against him. Despite Bukair's denials, Umayya seized him and had him killed by his bitter enemy, Baḥr, in the year 77/696. Baḥr was convinced that the "Banū Sa‘d would never be united while they both lived".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Muḡhtālīn, p.176; Futūḥ, p.416; Ya‘qūbī, II, p.324; Tab., II, pp.1122-8 (citing Madā‘inī); Kūfī, I, fols. 58b-59a; Ghurār, fols. 6-7; Mir‘āt, VI, fol. 26b; Bidāya, IX, p.21; ‘Ibar, III, pp.101-2.
  2. Muḡhtālīn, p.177; Ansāb, fol. 315a; Futūḥ, p.417; Ya‘qūbī, II, p.324; Tab., II, pp.1028-31 (citing Madā‘inī); Kūfī, I, fol. 59a; Ghurār, fol. 7; Jamharat, p.207; ‘Asākir, IX, fol. 82a; Kāmil, IV, p.361; Mir‘āt, VI, fol. 26b; Bidāya, IX, p.21; ‘Ibar, III, p.102.

Bukair's death, however, did not end the hostility in the Banū Sa'd, to whom both Baḥīr and Bukair belonged. Four years after the death of Bukair, in 81/700, Baḥīr was publically assassinated by one of the Banū 'Awf, ibn Ṣa'sa'a ibn Ḥarb, who shouted, "Ya li thārāt Bukair" as he killed him; this took place in the court of al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, who was at this time the governor of Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup> The assassin was put to death and his people satisfied by the payment of blood money. Thus the feud among the Banū Sa'd came to an end.

During the governorship of al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra (79/698-82/701) and that of his son Yazīd after him (82/701-85/704), we see the Azd as one of the strong powers in Khurāsān,<sup>2</sup> taking their part in all important events. The alliance between al-Azd and Bakr (Rabī'a) in Basra<sup>3</sup> was also formed in Khurāsān. The date of this alliance is not directly given by the sources. Judging from the fact that al-Azd were not strong in Khurāsān before the governorship of al-Muhallab, it is unlikely that the Azd/Bakr alliance was formed before 79/698. It was perhaps formed by al-Muhallab's efforts for there is no mention in our sources of this alliance before his time. It is reported in the Kitāb al-Aghānī<sup>4</sup> that during the governorship of al-Muhallab, some dispute

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1. Muḡhtālīn, p.179; Ansāb, fol. 503b; Ṭab., II, pp.1047-51 (citing Madā' inī); Jamharat, p.207; 'Asākir, IX, fol. 82a; Kāmil, IV, pp.367-9; Bidāya, IX, pp.34-5; 'Ibar, III, p.103.
  2. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.427.
  3. Ansāb, IV, pp.105-6 (citing Madā' inī and Abū 'Ubaida); Naqā' id, II, p.729; Ṭab., II, p.446 (citing Abū 'Ubaida).
  4. Agh., XIII, p.58.

arose between al-Azd and 'Abd al-Qais. This was expressed by the satiric verses of the poets Ka'b al-Ashqarī and Ziyād al-A'jam. Al-Muhallab intervened and paid blood money to both sides and thus the dispute was ended. It is also reported by the same source<sup>1</sup> that al-Yemen and Rabī'a were in Hilf during the time of al-Muhallab and his son Yazīd. There is also reference to this Hilf in the verses of the poet Nahār ibn Tawsi'a al-Tamīmī bewailing al-Muhallab.<sup>2</sup> In a later period, as the revolt of Qutaiba ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī (95/714) and that of Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab (101/719),<sup>3</sup> this Hilf is also mentioned. However, al-Nuṣṣ<sup>4</sup> seems to have misunderstood the report of Abū 'Ubaida,<sup>5</sup> and decided that this Hilf existed in the time of 'Abdallah ibn Khāzim. But Wakī' ibn Ḥassān al-Ghudānī, to whom Abū 'Ubaida referred, is not the same Wakī' as killed Ibn Khāzim. Ibn Khāzim was killed by Wakī' ibn 'Umair al-Qurai'ī, called Ibn al-Dawraqiyya.

It was expected that 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān would give himself up to the Kalbites and the Yemenites in general, for it was through them that

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1. Ibid., XIII, pp.59-60.

2. Tab., II, p.1084 (citing Madā'inī).

3. Naqā'id, I, p.358; Agh., XIII, p.55; Al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, p.16.

4. Al-Nuṣṣ, op. cit., I, p.293.

5. Naqā'id, I, p.365.

his father, and the Umayyads generally, had secured the caliphate. However this was not the case. ‘Abd al-Malik had learnt in the turbulent period before his accession how dangerous tribal feuds could be and he, therefore, tried not to patronize one side against the other. This was a difficult task since the politics of the time depended on understandings with the tribes. Moreover, tribal passion and jealousy (Aṣabiyya) were strong even among the members of the ruling house, which made the task of the caliph more difficult. However, ‘Abd al-Malik showed himself a clever statesman and above parties. Being from the Quraish, the caliph was able to take up a middle position.<sup>1</sup>

Having failed to subdue the Qais by force, he reconciled them to him, and when they gave up their opposition to him, he treated them equally with the Kalbites. Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith and his sons al-Ḥudhail and Qawthar, ‘Abdallah ibn Mas‘ada al-Fazārī and other Qaisites were among the most influential men in the court of ‘Abd al-Malik. Even when al-Ḥudhail ibn Zufar deserted the caliph's army after the reconciliation to join Maṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubair, ‘Abd al-Malik showed him tolerance.<sup>2</sup>

In order to get the confidence of the Qais and win them more firmly to his side, ‘Abd al-Malik himself married a Qaisite woman, Wallāda of the Banū

1. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, p.211.

2. *Ansāb*, V, p.350 (citing ‘Awāna); *Jahshiyārī*, p.30; *Imtā’*, III, pp.170-1; *Jamharat*, p.245; ‘*Asakir*, V, p.376; VI, fol.212a; *Kamil*, IV, p.278; ‘*Ibar*, III, p.82.

‘Abs, who became the mother of his sons al-Walīd and Sulaimān.<sup>1</sup> He also sealed the treaty between Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith and himself by the marriage of his son Maslama to al-Rabāb, the daughter of Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith.<sup>2</sup> The Kalbites showed their displeasure<sup>3</sup> at this; however, ‘Abd al-Malik, in spite of associating himself with the Qais, did not neglect the Kalb, but on the contrary treated both Qais and Kalb equally. To the end of his reign, Yemenites, like Ibn Bahdal, Rawḥ, ibn Zinbā‘, al-‘Ayyāsh ibn Khaythama, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Shākiri, Ibn al-Zubriqān ibn Azlam, Ma‘yūf al-Ḥujarī, and Ibn Abī ‘Aushn (the latter five from Hamdān) were among his intimate courtiers.<sup>4</sup>

This policy of treating tribes equally also showed itself on other occasions: after the day of al-Bishr, ‘Abd al-Malik through his son al-Walīd paid money recompense to both sides for the blood-shed before the day of al-Bishr.<sup>5</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik also put to death two Fazārite chiefs, for their responsibility in the feud of Banāt Qain. ‘Abd al-Malik imprisoned Artā’a ibn Suhya al-Murri, for incitement in his poem against the Kalb.<sup>6</sup> On the

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1. Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, I, p.80; *Ansāb*, XI, p.172 (citing Abu ‘Ubaida); *Bughya*, fol. 174.
  2. *Rasā’il*, (Ed. Sandūbī), p.182, (citing Madā’inī); *Ansāb*, V, p.307; *Kāmil*, IV, p.277; *‘Ibar*, III, p.82.
  3. Abū Tammām, *Naqa’id Jarīr Wal Akhtal*, pp.19-20; Idem, *Ḥamāsa*, I, pp.656-657, 658-9; *Amidī*, pp.35-6.
  4. *Ansāb*, XI, pp.173-4 (citing al-Haytham), 253 (citing Madā’inī); *Hamdānī*, *Ikhlīl*, X, pp.148-9.
  5. See above, p.181
  6. *Bakrī*, IV, pp.1159-60.

other hand, he imprisoned a number of Yemenite nobles (Wuḡūh), because of the murder of a Qaisite.<sup>1</sup> He also threatened 'Abd Yasū' ibn Ḥarb, the sayyid of Banū Taghlib, as an attempt to put an end to the feud between Qais and Taghlib.<sup>2</sup>

In choosing his officials, 'Abd al-Malik, following the normal practise of the time, favoured his relatives. However, he was not the prisoner of his family. Probably he trusted them more than others, because of the nature of the problems he faced at the time of his accession; and as Quraishites, they were able to attain a level of aloofness from tribal frictions, more difficult for other 'Arabs to obtain. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Malik kept an eye on them and was ready to remove any who showed incompetence; he would replace them by a more capable person, no matter whether he was an Umayyad or not. When Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khālīd ibn Asīd showed incapability in facing the Khārījite threat and in collecting the Kharāj, he was soon removed from his post as a governor of Basra. 'Abd al-Malik also removed al-Ḥārith ibn Khālīd al-Makhzūmī, the governor of Mecca, because he did not perform his duty as a leader of the congregation.<sup>4</sup> As

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1. Agh., XIX, p.109.

2. Nasab, fols. 227b-228a.

3. Ansāb, XI, pp.266-7 (citing Abū Mikhnaf and 'Awāna), fol. 25b (citing Madā' inī); lqd, IV, pp.23-4; Tab., II, p.825 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).

4. Agh., III, pp.102-3 (citing Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī, al-Zubair ibn Bakkār and 'Umar ibn Shabba), 113 (citing Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī).

we have seen, Umayya ibn ‘Abdallah ibn Khālīd ibn Asīd was appointed to the government of Khurāsān in order to keep the balance between the conflicting parties. When Umayya failed to end the feuds and engage the people of Khurāsān in the Jihād against the Turks, he was removed from his post and the government was transferred to al-Muhallab ibn Abī Šufra.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the death of Bishr ibn Marwān (74/693) left vacant the important post of governor of Iraq. Apart from having strong anti-Umayyad feelings (especially in Kūfa), Iraq was constantly menaced by the Khārījites. To this must be added the turbulent and insubordinate nature of the ‘Arab tribes there. The governorship of Iraq was therefore the most responsible post in the whole Islamic Empire. On the other hand, the severity with which al-Ḥajjāj restored the peace in al-Ḥijāz, and the harsh treatment and discrimination he showed to the people there, made ‘Abd al-Malik transfer him to Iraq.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp.194-5; (citing Mada’inī), 310-11 (citing al-Haytham); Futūḥ, p.399; Tab., II, pp.1028-29; Kūfī, II, fols. 59a-59b, 72a-72b, 100a-100b; Ghurār, fols. 6-7; ‘lqd, IV, pp.23-4; Agh., XII, p.56; Marzubānī, op. cit., pp.227-8, 230, 265; Kāmil, IV, pp.299-300; Dhahabī, III, pp.125-6; Miles, Two Unpublished Dirhams of ‘Abdallah ibn Umayya, p.156, ANSM, XIV, 1968.
  2. Mahāsin, pp.63-4; Al-Zubair ibn Bakkār, Akhbār al-Muwafaqiyyāt fil Siyar, fol. 46 (citing ‘Awāna); Imāma, II, p.25; Ya‘qūbī, II, pp.326-7; Tab., II, pp.863-73; Kūfī, II, fol. 69a; ‘lqd, II, pp.78181; Murūj, V, pp.290-302; Bad’, VI, p.27; Tanūkhī, al-Mustajād min Fi‘lāt al-‘Ajwād, pp.44-6; Jalīs, fols. 8b, 9a, 9b (citing Muṣ‘ab al-Zuhrī); Ghurār, fol.17; Kāmil, IV, pp.303-5; Mir’āt, VI, fols. 8a, 14b, 15a; Bidāya, IX, p.7; ‘Ibar, III, pp.93-4. However, contrary to the written sources which give the date of Bishr's death as 74, there is a coin bearing the name of Bishr =

Al-Ḥajjāj has been accused of showing 'Aṣabiyya to both the Qaisites, and more especially to his own people, the Thaqifites. It is true that he removed many of the previous officials, appointed by Bishr, and replaced them with Thaqifites. In Sistān, he appointed 'Ubaidallah ibn Abī Bakā;<sup>1</sup> in Baṣra, al-Ḥakam ibn Ayyūb and 'Urwa ibn al-Mughīra as his deputy in Baṣra and Kūfa;<sup>2</sup> in the Yemen, he appointed his brother Muḥammad,<sup>3</sup> and in Fārs, another Thaqifite, Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, there are also examples of his appointment of Yemenites to high office: 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī was his choice as governor of Sistān and as leader of the celebrated army, Jaiṣh al-Ṭawāwīs;<sup>5</sup> appointed head of the Shurṭa was Abu l-'Amarta (Kinda);<sup>6</sup> and he appointed al-Rabī' ibn Qais (Kinda)

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= struck in Baṣra in the year 75. This numismatic evidence would seem to indicate that Bishr was immediately succeeded by al-Ḥajjāj, thus eliminating Khālīd ibn 'Abdallah ibn Asīd from the list of governors of Baṣra and Kūfa. See Walker, *Some New Arab Sassanian Coins*, p.107, *NČ*, XI, 1952; Miles, *A Byzantine Bronze Weight in the Name of Bishr ibn Marwān*, pp.117-8, *Arabica*, IX, 1962.

1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p.386; *Ansāb*, XI, pp.310-11 (citing al-Haytham); *Tab.*, II, pp.1033-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kūfi*, II, fol. 100a; *Ghurār*, fol. 52; *Kāmil*, IV, p.362; *Mir'āt*, VI, fol.29a; *Wafayāt*, II, p.215.
2. Khalīfa, ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p.385; *Ansāb*, V, p.179; *Tab.*, II, pp.872, 979 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 'Asakir, IV, pp.389-90; *Bidāya*, IX, p.1.
3. *Futūḥ*, p.73 (citing Madā'inī); *Kūfī*, II, fol. 83a.
4. *Tab.*, II, p.1200; *Dhahabī*, III, p.233.
5. Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, I, p.328; *Imāma*, II, pp.29-30; *Ansāb*, XI, p.319; *Ya'qubī*, II, p.331; *Tab.*, II, pp.1044 (citing al-Sha'bī), 1046; *Kūfī*, II, fol. 101a; *Murūj*, V, p.301ff.; *Tanbīh*, p.314; *Ghurār*, fol.53ff.; *Bad'*, VI, p.53; *Kāmil*, IV, pp.365-6; *Mir'āt*, VI, fol.31b; *Bidāya*, IX, pp.31-5; *Shadharāt*, I, p.87.
6. *Ma'ad*, fol. 27a; *Jamharat*, p.401.



as governor of Fārs,<sup>1</sup> Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Sabra (Nakha') as governor of Iṣbahān,<sup>2</sup> al-Zubair ibn Khuzaima (Khath'am) as a later governor of Iṣbahān,<sup>3</sup> and 'Imāra ibn Tamīm (Lakham) as governor of Sistān.<sup>4</sup> Thus it seems that rather than exercising a tribal system of patronage, al-Ḥajjāj was advancing men on the basis of his trust in them and his belief in their efficiency: it was more a personal system of patronage.

Wellhausen<sup>5</sup> is one who believes al-Ḥajjāj to have favoured the Qais. He says that al-Ḥajjāj removed al-Mufaḍḍal ibn al-Muhallab from Khurāsān because he killed Mūsā ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim. The latter was a Qaisite who held out for twelve years after the death of his father, in Tirmidh. However, historical tradition is not in favour of this conclusion. Al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra was appointed the governor of Khurāsān by al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>6</sup> Before his death, al-Muhallab nominated his son Yazīd as his successor. This nomination was approved by al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>7</sup> If al-Ḥajjāj had

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1. Ma'ad, fol. 27a.

2. Ma'ad, fol. 46b; Jamharat, p.385.

3. Ma'ad, fol. 53b.

4. Buldān, p.61; Jamharat, p.398.

5. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.429.

6. Ansāb, XI, p.311 (citing al-Haytham); Futūḥ, p.317; Ya'qūbī, II, p.330; Buldān, pp.60,81; Tab., II, pp.1033, 1039, 1047, 1063; Kūfī, II, fol. 90b; Ghurār, fol.33; Kāmil, IV, p.362; Mir'āt, VI, fol.29a; 'Ibar, III, p.103.

7. Futūḥ, p.417; Dinawarī, p.289; Ya'qūbī, II, p.330; Buldān, p.82; Tab., II, pp.1083 (citing Madā'inī), 1085; Ghurār, fol.74; Mir'āt, VI, fol.40b.

had any sort of partisanship to his people, he would have chosen a Qaisite governor for this important post; or at least he would not confirm the nomination of al-Muhallab's son Yazīd as his successor. But al-Ḥajjāj only removed Yazīd from Khurāsān after he had been governor there for three years. This removal of Yazīd from Khurāsān was not caused by al-Ḥajjāj's partisanship to the Qais against the Azd, to whom Yazīd belonged; relations between the two had become strained when Yazīd, because of his 'Aṣabiyya to his people, sent only the Mudarite participants in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath as prisoners to al-Ḥajjāj, setting free all the Yemenites.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, proud and disobedient to his master as he was, Yazīd was unpopular in Khurāsān, even among his own people, the Azd.<sup>2</sup> It is also reported<sup>3</sup> that

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1. Ansāb, fols. 19a-19b; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 330; Tab., II, pp. 1119-22 (citing Abū 'Ubayda); Kūfī, II, fol. 112b; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 51b.
  2. Tab., II, pp. 1142-43 (citing Madā'inī), 1143-44 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī and Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols. 127b, 128a; Ghurār, fol. 75; Agh., XIII, p. 61; Kāmil, IV, p. 402.
  3. Jalis, fols. 56a-56b; Ghurār, fol. 78. It is also possible that owing to the insurrection of Ša'īd and Sulaimān, the sons of 'Abbād, with the Azd in 'Umān, al-Ḥajjāj feared Yazīd and he was very cautious in removing him from Khurāsān. See 'Asākir, VI, pp. 167-68; Azkawī, Kashf al-Ghumma al-Jāmi' li Akhbār al-Umma, fol. 326a-326b. Part of the latter work has been translated into English by E. C. Ross, Calcutta, 1874. The same part has been edited by Hedwig Klein, Hamburg, 1938. The Kashf al-Ghumma was also copied, for the most part literally, by another local historian called Salīl ibn Rāziq in his work "History of the Imāms and Seyyids of 'Umān", translated and edited by G. Badger, printed for the Hakluyt Society, M.DCCCLXXL; English translation, p. 10; Kelin, p. 12.

al-Ḥajjāj removed Yazīd because he was embezzeling the treasury of the country. Finally, the hostile tradition,<sup>1</sup> which tries to show al-Ḥajjāj as superstitious, and connects this with the dismissal of Yazīd has so much of the flavour of a legend that it is not worth serious consideration.

In order not to arouse Yazīd's suspicions that he was to be dismissed, al-Ḥajjāj married Yazīd's sister.<sup>2</sup> Another device al-Ḥajjāj employed in this connection was when he asked Yazīd to come to Wāsiṭ to discuss an important matter with him, and to leave his weaker brother al-Mufaḍḍal as his deputy governor.<sup>3</sup> After some hesitation, Yazīd submitted to the order of al-Ḥajjāj and left Khurāsān to his brother. The latter remained for a few months until Qutaiba ibn Muslim al-Bahilī came to replace him as governor. Thus we see that the temporary appointment of al-Mufaḍḍal was but a device used by al-Ḥajjāj against Yazīd. It was because al-Ḥajjāj considered Yazīd's position in Khurāsān to be not in the interests of the state, that he dismissed him, not because of the 'Aṣabiyya. Al-Ḥajjāj must also by this time have realised that his appointment of al-Muhallab and his Azdite supporters had had the effect of driving the Muḍar party into such sharp opposition, that it even

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1. Ṭab., II, pp.1143-4 (citing Madā' inī); Ghurar, fols. 75-6; Agh., IX, pp.55-6; Kāmil, IV, pp.400-1; Mir'āt, VI, fol.52a; 'Ibar, III, pp.119-20.
  2. Ya'qūbī, II, p.330; Kūfī, II, fols. 128a-128b.
  3. Ya'qūbī, II, p.330; Ṭab., II, p.1141; Kūfī, II, fol. 128b; Ghurar, fols. 76-77; Kāmil, IV, p.401; Mir'āt, VI, fol.52a; Bidāya, IX, p.56; 'Ibar, III, p.120.

led the Qais to align with the Tamīm. He, therefore, chose another governor who could be relied on to carry out his policies and yet would be acceptable to the Muḍar - that is, Qutaiba ibn Muslim.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ḥajjāj is also said<sup>2</sup> to have encouraged the 'Aṣabiyya among the tribes by inciting the poets against each other, as for example, in the satirical battle between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq. The fact that al-Naqā'id were composed more for entertainment than for political hostility,<sup>3</sup> does not convince us in favour of al-Nuṣṣ's thesis, especially since we know that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq<sup>4</sup> enjoyed an intimate friendship.

Finally, it was al-Ḥajjāj who imprisoned his brother-in-law, Mālīk ibn Asmā' ibn Khārīja al-Fazārī, for embezzlement.<sup>5</sup> Mālīk asked his father, the Sayyid of Fazāra, to use his influence to release him, only to be met with a refusal because his father dared not petition al-Ḥajjāj on such a matter.<sup>6</sup> This shows that it was well known that al-Ḥajjāj would not respond to appeals of kinship.

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1. Shā'ibān, op. cit., p.99.
  2. Al-Nuṣṣ, op. cit., p.262.
  3. Daif, op. cit., pp.179-80.
  4. Jarīr, Dīwān, pp.72, 323, 439; Jumahī, p.100, lqd, III, p.145; Agh, XIX, pp.24-9.
  5. Agh, XVI, p.41; Jalīs, fols. 88a-88b.
  6. Agh, XVI, p.41.

Al-Hajjāj's system of patronage may well have added to his unpopularity; it would seem more likely that he upset the Qais for failing to exercise his powers of patronage on a solely tribal basis, than that he erred in favouring his own people beyond what was usual at the time. In many ways it seems he was a man one step in advance of his time.

Another characteristic of the policy of 'Abd al-Malik in choosing his governors and officials, was that he mainly employed members of the Northern tribes as governors, while his court officials mostly belonged to the Southern tribes. Out of fifty six officials whom he employed as governors during his regime, only five were from the Northern tribes;<sup>1</sup>

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1. Hadhif, pp.3,71; Sa'd, V, pp.41, 112-13; Zubairī, pp.82, 190-1, 313, 328-9; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, p.601; Idem, Tārīkh, I, pp.340, 341, 381-394; Azraqī, II, p.136; Muḥabbar, pp.23-5, 378; Muḡhtalīn, pp.176-7; Munammaq, pp.501-2; Bayān, I, p.165; Mahāsīn, pp.63-4; Ma'ārīf, pp.155, 156; Uyun, p.207; Imāma, II, p.25 (citing Abū Ma'shar), 48-9; Futūḥ, p.229 (citing Wāqidī), 332, 339-400, 415-7; Ansāb, V, pp.79, 120, 160, 162-3, 166, 171 (citing Madā'inī), 178, 186 (citing Madā'inī), 346-7 (citing al-Haytham); 351 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 354, 373 (citing Wāqidī), 374; XI, pp.17-18 (citing al-Haytham), 30-2 (citing Madā'inī), 68-9, 189 (citing Madā'inī), 266-7 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and 'Awāna), 269-70 (citing Madā'inī), 310-11 (citing al-Haytham); Ya'qūbī, II, pp.324-5; 326-7, 331, 335; Buldān, pp.60-1, 80-1; Idem, Mushākalat al-Nās li Zamanīhim, p.18; Baḥshal, Tārīkh Wāsīt, p.40 (citing 'Awāna); Nasab, fols. 3a-3b, 13a, 13b, 15b, 17a-17b, 29a-29b, 173a, 185a; Quḍāt, I, pp.124, 135, 130; Ṭab., II, p.816-7 (citing Madā'inī), 818 (citing Madā'inī), 852, 853-4, 855, 859-63 (citing Madā'inī), 873, 928 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba), 940 (citing Wāqidī), 1022 ff. (citing Madā'inī), 1031-32, 1033-5 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and Madā'inī), 1039, 1046-7, 1063, 1085, 1127 (citing Wāqidī), 1171; Kūfī, II, fols. 58a-59b, 68b-69a, 72a-72b; lqḍ, II, pp.78-81; IV, 304; Murūj, V, pp. 266, 290-2; Kindī, I, pp.48-9, 55, 58; Bad', VI, pp.25-7; Agh., III, pp.100 (citing Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī), 102-3, 107-8, 110 (citing Madā'inī), 113; XIII, p.56; =

while fifteen out of twenty court officials were from the Southern tribes.<sup>1</sup>

This might have been another way of keeping the balance between the two sides.

- = Tanūkhī, *op. cit.*, pp.44-6; Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, pp.227-8, 230, 260; Jalīs, fols. 8b-9a; Ghurār, fols. 5-7, 17; Jamharat, pp.138-9, 178, 234; Bakrī, I, p.55; Sam'ānī, fol.64a; Asākir, II, p.131; III, fols. 177a-177b, 179a-179b; 180a; III, pp.128-30; IV, pp.52, 82; VII, pp.40-1; Mu'jam, I, p.326; II, p.669; III, pp.928-30; Kāmil, IV, pp.270, 274, 294, 295, 296, 298, 300, 303, 308, 338, 361, 362, 364, 367, 374, 382, 411; Usd, I, pp.117, 258; III, p.135; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 2a, 3b, 8a, 8b, 9a-10a, 14a-15a, 17b, 24a, 29a, 40b; Ibn al-Abbār, al-Hullat al-Siyarā', pp.189, 465-66; Zubda, I, pp.44-5; Wafayāt, I, pp.599, 630; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 70; Mukhtasar, I, p.208, Dhahabī, III, pp.115, 117, 126, 213, 233-4, 241, 310; Bidāya, VIII, pp.316-7, 326, 347; IX, pp.2, 3, 7, 9, 15, 21, 22, 32, 52, 61; 'Ibar, III, pp.81, 91-2, 93, 103-4, 292-5; Arab, pp.41, 79, 160, 177, 186, 285, 360, 372-4, 382, 393, 396; Khītat, II, p.71; Tahdhīb, I, pp.371-2; III, p.102; V, pp.5-7; Shadharāt, I, pp.79-80; Kahhāla, Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab, I, pp.27, 42, 60, 125, 148; II, pp.622; III, pp.929, 989-90, 996ff., 102ff., 1070ff., 1192, 1213; Al-'Alī, Muwazafū Bilād al-Shām fil 'Asr al-Umawī, p.72, al-Abhāth, XIX, 1966; Caskel, Gamharat an-Nasb das Genealogische Werk des Hishām b. Muhammad al-Kalbī, I, pp. 1, 8, 10, 11, 14, 21, 23, 29, 35, 96, 118, 137, 144, 147, 236, 352, Leiden, 1966.
1. Sa'd, V, p.131; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tarīkh, I, pp.390, 394-6; Idem, Tabaqāt, p.792; Muhabbar, p.373; Ansab, XI, pp.155, 192-3; Ma'ad fols. 31b, 32b, 61b; Tab., II, p.837; 'Iqd, IV, p.169; Jahshiyārī, pp.28, 30-3; Mashāhīr, p.112; Khulānī, p.109; Latā'if, p.61; Jamharat, pp.224, 393, 395, 405; Khulafā', II, fols. 139a-139b, 140b; Usd, IV, pp.191-2; Mir'āt, VI, fol.33a; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.70; Arab, pp.42, 58, 83, 192, 222, 224, 230, 231, 355, 406; Iṣāba, I, pp.1072; III, 532; Tahdhīb, V, p.83; VIII, pp.364-7; Kahhāla, *op. cit.*, I, pp.30-1, 49, 174, 286, 305, 344, 365-6, 388; II, pp.527, 706; III, pp.844, 1260; Al-'Alī, Mawazafū Bilād al-Shām fil 'Asr al-Umawī, pp.53-61, al-Abhāth XIX, 1966; Caskel, *op. cit.*, I, pp.199, 208, 243, 245, 248.

The success of 'Abd al-Malik's policy towards the tribes can be measured by the fact that the last few years of his reign were free from armed inter-tribal struggle. He was successful in harnessing tribal feeling to the interests of the government, at the same time suppressing its violent manifestations. His successors, however, were less careful in treading this narrow road between the beneficial and disruptive effects of the tribal system, and in later years, the rivalries and antipathies of 'Aṣabiyya again erupted in violent feuds.

CHAPTER IV  
THE CIVIL WAR, 67 - 73 A.H.

Throughout the twenty-one years of his reign, 'Abd al-Malik faced a series of revolts and dissensions, perhaps the most serious of which was the revolt of 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair, who had proclaimed himself caliph on the death of Yazīd I in 64/683. At the height of his power, he controlled al-Hijāz and Iraq, as well as receiving at least nominal recognition from many other provinces of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, not until Ibn al-Zubair's death in the year 73/692, was 'Abd al-Malik acknowledged as Caliph throughout the Empire.

'Abd al-Malik, however, was unable to challenge Ibn al-Zubair's sway in Iraq and the East before he had secured his position in Syria itself, the centre of his authority. There, Nātil ibn Qais al-Judhāmī was occupying Palestine in support of 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair.<sup>2</sup> 'Abd al-Malik succeeded in liquidating Nātil in the battle of Ajnadīn. Both Khalīfa ibn

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1. As in the case of 'Abdallah ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī in Khurāsān and Zufar ibn al-Hārith al-Kilābī in Qarqīsyā'. *Ansāb*, V, pp.305, 350 (citing 'Awānā), fol. 593b; *Futūḥ*, pp.414-5; *Ya'qūbī*, II, pp.304, 324; *Buldān*, p.81; *Bad'*, VI, p.27; *Khulafā'*, II, fol. 112a; *Kāmil*, IV, pp.277, 278, 282; *Ibar*, III, p.82; *Tahdhīb*, V, p.195; *Iṣāba*, II, pp.735-6; Miles, *Some New Light on the History of Kirmān*, p.89, *WOI*, 1959.
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p.332 (citing al-Layth); *Ansāb*, V, p.158 (citing *Mada'ini*); *Ya'qūbī*, II, p.321; *Murūj*, V, pp.224-5.



Khayyāt and Mas'ūdī<sup>1</sup> state that this battle took place in the same year as the battle of Khāzir, in which 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād was killed. The date of the battle of Khāzir is given by other sources as 10th Muḥarram, 67/6th August, 686;<sup>2</sup> while Khalīfa dates it as 66/685, without specifying the month. These two dates are not necessarily contradictory, for if the battles of Ajnādīn and Khāzir took place at the end of the year 66, in the month of Dhul-ḥajja, the difference between Khalīfa's and Mas'ūdī's dates is as little as ten days, which is not significant.

Another threat to 'Abd al-Malik's position in Syria at this time came from the Byzantine Emperor, who, encouraged by the political confusion of the time, stirred up the Jarājima (Mardaites) against the 'Arabs.<sup>3</sup> According to Balādhurī,<sup>4</sup> a Byzantine cavalry came into the Amanūs district (Lukām) and penetrated as far as Lebanon. This force was joined by a large number of Jarājima, Anbāt (Nabateans) and runaway slaves. The caliph found himself compelled to make a treaty with them, guaranteeing them a weekly payment of one thousand Dīnārs. Then, following the precedent of

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.332; Murūj, V, p.224.

2. Ma'ārif, p.152; Dhahabī, II, p.375; Bidāya, VIII, p.283.

3. Futūḥ, pp.160-1, 188; Ansāb, V, p.299; Ya'qūbī, II, p.321; Tab., II, p.796; Murūj, V, p.224; Mu'jam, II, pp.35-6; Kāmil, IV, pp.250-1; Bughya, fols. 255 (quoting Balādhurī), 258; Duwal, I, p.37; Bidāya, VIII, p.313; Shadharāt, I, p.77.

4. Futūḥ, pp.160-1.

Mu'āwīyya, he offered peace terms to the emperor.

The contents of the treaty between them are preserved only by the Christian sources. According to this treaty, the caliph agreed to pay 365,000 gold pieces, 365 slaves and 365 thoroughbred horses; he had also to surrender half of the tribute from Cyprus, Armenia and Iberia. In return, the emperor Justinian II agreed to withdraw the Mardaïtes, and he recalled 12,000 of them to be settled in Byzantine territory.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note here that the Christian sources reproach the emperor for denuding the frontiers in this way.

Following the account of Balādhurī, after signing the treaty, 'Abd al-Malik sent one of his trusted men, Suḥaim ibn al-Muhājir, to the Byzantine officer commanding the Jarājima. Suḥaim succeeded in winning his confidence by pretending to take his part against the caliph. Then Suḥaim used his troops, which he had hidden, to make a surprise attack, killing the officer and his Greek followers. As for the Jarājima, they were guaranteed Amān; some went away and settled in the villages of Hims and Damascus, while the majority of them went back to the Amanūs; the Anbāt returned to their villages and the slaves to their masters, while

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1. Theophanes, Chronographia, 6176, Migne, 1857; Constantine Perphyrogentus, De Administrando Imperio, pp. 93-5, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and translated by R.J.H. Jenkins, Budapest, 1949; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, II, pp. 469-70; Ibn al-'Ibrī (Bar Hebraeus), Chronographia, I, p. 103; E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Djarādjima).

others entered the caliph's service.<sup>1</sup>

Here again, as in most of the events of this period, no definite date is given for the Mardaites' raids or the treaty. Balādhurī, Theophanes, Constantine Perphyrogentus, Michael the Syrian, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Ibn al-ʿIbrī and Dhahabī<sup>2</sup> date them after the death of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and the accession of ʿAbd al-Malik to the caliphate, in the time of political turmoil. Both Yaʿqūbī and Masʿūdī<sup>3</sup> refer to the same date when they place these events along with the rebellion of Nāṭil ibn Qais in 66/685. Another account without any chain of authority in Ṭabarī, repeated by Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn al-ʿImād,<sup>4</sup> gives the year as 70/689. Finally, another report found in Ibn al-Athīr puts this Byzantine threat in the year 69/688, to coincide with the revolt of ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd al-Ashdaq in Damascus.<sup>5</sup> Of all these different dates, it would seem that the period 65-66/684-5 is the most likely, in that troubled period before ʿAbd al-Malik secured his succession; the narratives which give other dates are either less detailed and without a chain of authority (Ṭabarī's) or without confirmation in the early sources (Ibn al-Athīr's).

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1. Futūḥ, pp.160-1.

2. Futūḥ, pp.160-1, 188; Chronographia, 6176; De Administrando Imperio, p.93; Chronique, II, 469; Bughya, fols. 255-6 (quoting Balādhurī); Chronographia, I, p.103; Duwal, I, p.37.

3. Yaʿqūbī, II, p. 321; Murūj, V, p.225.

4. Tab., II, p.796; Kāmil, IV, p.251; Bidāya, VII, p.313; Shadharāt, I, p.77.

5. Kāmil, IV, pp.250 -1.

It was these troubles which ‘Abd al-Malik faced at home that prevented him from interfering in the war between Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubair and al-Mukhtār ibn Abī ‘Uбайд al-Thaqafī in 67/686. Moreover, ‘Abd al-Malik may well have thought it wiser to let his enemies fight each other and so weaken themselves. Wellhausen<sup>1</sup> has argued that the reason for ‘Abd al-Malik's neutrality in this conflict was due to the famine that struck Syria in 68/687; this, however, is incorrect, since the famine occurred a year after the war between Muṣ‘ab and al-Mukhtār.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Muṣ‘ab himself was too busy fighting other enemies, such as the Shī‘a in Kūfa and the Khawārij in Baṣra, to take the offensive against ‘Abd al-Malik. Therefore, any conflict between the two was delayed.

As soon as he was free from troubles at home, ‘Abd al-Malik launched an attack on Muṣ‘ab, advancing until he reached Buṭnān Ḥabīb in the district of Qinasrīn, where he made his camp. Muṣ‘ab consequently left Kūfa and made his camp in Bājumairā near Takrīt. These choices of camp headquarters were not without significance. Apart from the fact that both were boundary stations on the road from Syria to Iraq, there were other, more important

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1. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, p.187.

2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p.335 (citing al-Layth); *Tab.*, II, p.765; *Kāmil*, IV, p.236; *Bidayā*, VIII, p.294, (quoting Ṭabarī).

reasons for their choice:- Butnān Ḥabīb and the neighbouring Qinasrīn were inhabited by the Banū ‘Abs ibn Baghīd, with whom ‘Abd al-Malik had a marriage alliance.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Muṣ‘ab may well have chosen Bājumairā on the Euphrates because of its proximity to the Qarqīsyā’ area, where Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī adhered to him and opposed ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>2</sup>

The first march of ‘Abd al-Malik against Muṣ‘ab was in the summer of 69-70/689.<sup>3</sup> However, ‘Abd al-Malik had to leave Butnān and return to Damascus, to deal with the revolt of one of his kinsmen, ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Ās, nicknamed al-Ashdaq. ‘Amr's revolt was to establish his claim to the caliphate, which had been acknowledged at the treaty of

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1. Nasab, fol. 35a; Jamharat, pp.239-40; Bughya, fol. 471 (quoting Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azdī, al-Nassāba).
  2. See Chapter III, pp. 167
  3. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.336 (citing al-Layth); Tab., II, pp. 783 (citing Wāqidī), 784 (citing ‘Awāna); Kāmil, IV, p.250; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 89-90; Dhahabī, II, pp.383-4; (Bidāya, VIII, p.307. As for the account in Tab., (II, p.765), repeated by Ibn al-Athīr, (Kāmil, IV, p.236), which says that ‘Abd al-Malik and his army camped in Butnām Ḥabīb in 68/687, it seems, as Wellhausen justly observed, that "it contradicts the preceding account, that at that year ‘Abd al-Malik did not take the field, because of the famine". The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.188.

al-Jābiya; Marwān had then broken his faith, by appointing his two sons as his successors. Our information on 'Amr's revolt comes from the narrative of Wāqidī in Ibn Sa'd, repeated by Ibn 'Asākir and Dhahabī,<sup>1</sup> the narrative of Abū Mikhnaḥ in Balādhurī, repeated by Tabarī and Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>2</sup> and that of 'Awāna in Tabarī, repeated by Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nuwairī, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>3</sup> There are also other accounts which are mainly compilations of these three main narratives. The narratives not only disagree on the date of the revolt, but also emphasise different aspects of it. While 'Awāna is interested in the way that 'Amr was killed, Abū Mikhnaḥ endeavours to explain why 'Amr so easily succeeded in taking Damascus. Wāqidī passes over the agreement between 'Abd al-Malik and 'Amr before the latter's submission. It is therefore only by putting all the accounts together that one can form a satisfactory picture of this revolt.

According to Ibn Sa'd, Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī, Balādhurī, Tabarī, Ghurar al Siyar, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Ibn 'Asākir, Ibn al-Athīr Nuwairī and Dhahabī, 'Amr ibn Sa'īd was with 'Abd al-Malik when he marched from Damascus against Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair in Iraq. On the way there, 'Amr reminded 'Abd al-Malik of Marwān's promise that he should succeed him, and

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1. Sa'd, V, pp.168-9; 'Asākir, XIII, fol. 230b; Dhahabī, III, pp.58-9.
  2. Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.138-40; Tab., II, p.782; Kāmil, IV, p.250.
  3. Tab., II, p.283ff.; Kāmil, IV, p.245ff.; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 89ff; Bidāya, VIII, p.307ff.; Ibar, III, p.72ff.

asked ‘Abd al-Malik to name him as successor on his own death, in honour of his father's promise. ‘Abd al-Malik paid no heed to ‘Amr's claim. As a result, ‘Amr, accompanied by some of his followers, deserted ‘Abd al-Malik's camp at night and went to Damascus.<sup>1</sup> Another account, given by Ya‘qūbī, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Nuwairī, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>2</sup> says that the desertion of ‘Amr from ‘Abd al-Malik's army occurred when the latter was going to fight Zufar ibn al-Harith al-Kilābī in Qarqīsyā’, not in his campaign against Muṣ‘ab. ‘Abd al-Malik besieged ‘Amr in Damascus for sixteen days,<sup>3</sup> during which time negotiations and correspondence

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1. Sa‘d, V, pp.168-9 (citing Wāqidī); Zubairī, pp.178-9; Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.138-40 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Ṭab., II, p.784; Ghurār, fols. 7-8; ‘Iqd, IV, pp.407-9 (citing Abū Ma‘shar); ‘Asākir, XIII, fol. 230b (quoting Ibn Sa‘d); Kāmil, IV, p.250; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 95; Dhahabī, III, pp.57-9 (quoting Ibn Sa‘d).
  2. Ya‘qūbī, II, pp.321-3; Ṭab., II, p.783 (citing ‘Awāna); Kāmil, IV, pp.245-6; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 89-92; Bidāya, VIII, pp.307-8; ‘Ibar, III, pp.72-5. As for the account which says that ‘Abd al-Malik left ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd in Damascus as his deputy, when he went to fight Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubair, this seems unlikely since ‘Abd al-Malik knew very well how ambitious his rival was. Their rivalry went back to their early years. Imāma, II, p.20 (citing Abū Ma‘shar); Ṭab., II, p.783 (citing Wāqidī); Murūj, V, pp.233-5; Marzubānī, op. cit., p.231; Kāmil, IV, p.250; E.I.<sup>2</sup>, (‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq).
  3. Sa‘d, V, pp.168-9 (citing Wāqidī); ‘Asākir, XIII, fol.230b (quoting Ibn Sa‘d); Dhahabī, III, pp.57-9 (quoting Ibn Sa‘d). According to Abū Ma‘shar (Imāma, II, p.20), the siege lasted for more than one month.

took place between them, which brought about the submission of ‘Amr,<sup>1</sup> and ‘Abd al-Malik re-entered the city. Unfortunately, our sources do not preserve for us a complete version of the terms of the agreement between ‘Amr and ‘Abd al-Malik. However, the following terms can be gathered from the fragments that do occur in the sources:- ‘Amr would succeed ‘Abd al-Malik to the caliphate; ‘Amr would be put in charge of the treasury and the Dīwāns, and would appoint one official for each one appointed by ‘Abd al-Malik; and the caliph would consult ‘Amr in all decisions<sup>2</sup>. Such a division of responsibility at the head of power was hardly politically feasible, and ‘Abd al-Malik decided to remove the threat of ‘Amr once and for all - according to tradition, ‘Amr was invited to the palace and killed by ‘Abd al-Malik's own hands.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Muhtālīn, p.205; Bayān, III, pp.229-30; Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.138-40 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Ya‘qūbī, II, pp.321-3; Ghurār, fols. 7-8; Murūj, V, p.234; ‘Asākir, XIII, fol.230b (quoting Khalīfa); Kāmil, IV, p.246; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 89ff; Dhahabī, III, pp.57-9; Bidāya, VIII, pp.307-8; 311-12; ‘Ibar, III, pp.73-4; Shadharāt, I, p.77.
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.263; Muhtālīn, p.205; Imāma, II, pp.13-20; Ansāb, IV, ii, p.138ff. (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Dīnawarī, p.294; Ya‘qūbī, II, p.322; Tab., II, pp.793 (citing ‘Awāna), 875 (citing ‘Awāna); Ghurār, fols. 7-8; ‘Iqd, I, pp.92 (citing Madā’inī) IV, p.408 (citing Abū Ma‘shar); Murūj, V, pp.234-5; ‘Asākir, XIII, fol.230 (quoting Khalīfa); Kāmil, IV, pp.245-6; Dhahabī, III, pp.58-9; Bidāya, VIII, pp.307-8, 312; Shadharāt, I, p.77.
  3. Sa‘d, V, p.169 (citing Wāqidī); Zubairī, p.179; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.263; Muhtālīn, p.205, Kitāb al-Taj, p.66; Dīnawarī, pp.294-5; Ya‘qūbī, II, pp.322-3; Tab., II, pp.891-2 (citing ‘Awāna); Ghurār, fol.8-9; ‘Iqd, IV, pp.408-9 (citing Abū Ma‘shar); Murūj, V, pp.237-9; ‘Asākir, XIII, fols. 227a, 230b (quoting Khalīfa), 230b (quoting Ibn Sa‘d); Kāmil, IV, pp.248-9; Sharḥ, IX, p.119; Nuwairī, XIX, fols 92-4; Dhahabī, III, pp.57-9 (quoting Ibn Sa‘d and Khalīfa);



The murder of 'Amr left a stigma on 'Abd al-Malik's name, used by the hostile tradition to condemn him, with no consideration of any of his achievements. One can argue, however, that 'Abd al-Malik had some justification for killing 'Amr. In this troubled time of political confusion, there was no room for ambitious men of the ruling family to put forward claims that undermined the unity of the Umayyad family and the security of the Empire: 'Amr's murder was "pour encourager les autres". Moreover, had 'Amr lived to succeed in his bid for power, he would surely have had to kill 'Abd al-Malik.

'Abd al-Malik cast 'Amr's head to the crowd, together with a large sum of money: the people fell on the money, paying no attention to the severed head.<sup>2</sup> In this way, 'Abd al-Malik succeeded in diverting the attention of the people from the killing of 'Amr. At the same time, he ordered an announcement to be made. It is reported in the al-Imāma wal Siyāsa<sup>3</sup> that when the head and the money were thrown to the crowd, one of

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.263; Dīnawarī, p.294; Ṭab., II, p.795 (citing 'Awāna); Ghurar, fol. 9; Kāmil, IV, p.250; Nihāya, II, p.46; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.94; Dhahabī, III, p.59; Bidāya, VIII, p.310; 'Ibar, III, p.75.
  2. Imāma, II, pp.21-2 (citing Abū Ma'shar); Ansāb, IV, ii, p.139 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Dīnawarī, p.295; Ya'qūbī, II, p.323; Ṭab., II, p.791 (citing 'Awāna); Ghurar, fol.9; 'Iqd, IV, p.409 (citing Abū Ma'shar); Murūj, V, p.339; Ibn Hamdūn, Tadhkira, I, fol. 66b; Kāmil, IV, pp.248-9; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.93; Bidāya, VIII, p.309; 'Ibar, III, pp.74-5.
  3. Imāma, II, pp.21-2 (citing Abū Ma'shar).

‘Abd al-Malik's men made the public announcement, that "Your man was killed by the caliph according to the Qadar of Allah, which no one can prevent," and urged the people to keep quiet, promising them material rewards, to which they agreed. Two important points emerge from this announcement: the first is that the caliph, i.e. the State, held to the doctrine of Qadar (predestination) and used it in the political sphere as a means of silencing opposition to the regime. This point has been made clearly by Ibn Qutaiba,<sup>1</sup> when he described how government officials pointed to the doctrine, in justification for their acts of tyranny. The second important point is that there were a considerable number of people, at least in Damascus, who believed in this Qadar doctrine. Both of these points are borne out by the evidence of a letter sent by ‘Abd al-Malik to al-Ḥasan ibn Abi'l Ḥasan al-Baṣrī concerning this doctrine.<sup>2</sup>

Once again we face problems of chronology, for more than one date is given for ‘Amr's revolt. Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and other late sources<sup>3</sup> give the year 69/688. On the other hand, Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāt, Ya‘qūbī, Mas‘ūdī,

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1. Ma‘ārif, p.195. According to al-Dhahabī (Tārīkh, III, p.128) ‘Abd al-Malik hung Ma‘bad al-Juhanī, because he refused to believe in the doctrine of "Qadar".
  2. Risālat Mukatabāt ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān Wal Hasan ibn Abi'l-Hasan al-Baṣrī, fols. 1-13; Ritter, Studien Zur Geschichte der Islamischen Frömmigkeit, pp.66-82, DI, XXI, 1933; Obermann, Political Theory in Early Islam, pp.132-62, JOAS, 55, 1935; Schwarz, The letter of al-Hasan al-Baṣrī, pp.15-30, Oriens, XX, 1967; Murtaḍā, pp.19-20; Jarir, Diwān, pp.380, 474.
  3. Tab., II, pp.783 (citing Wāqidī), 783 (citing ‘Awana); ‘Asākir, XIII, fol. 231a (citing Ibn Sallam); Kāmil, IV, p.245; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.89; Dhahabī, III, p.59 (quoting al-Layth); Bidāya, VIII, p.307; Tahdhīb, VIII, p.38 (citing al-Layth).

Ibn 'Asākir, Ibn al-'Adīm, Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn al-'Imād,<sup>1</sup> mention the year 70/689. Moreover, a third group of sources<sup>2</sup> place the desertion of 'Amr from 'Abd al-Malik's army in the year 69, and his death in. 70. This account seems to be the most convincing, for according to the Muslim calendar, "the turn of the year then fell in the summer", and the military activities, which ceased in winter, would therefore be spread over two Muslim years.<sup>3</sup> Wāqidī in Ṭabarī, and 'Awāna state that 'Amr left the camp of 'Abd al-Malik and returned to Damascus in 69/688; while Mas'ūdī specifically states that 'Amr was killed in the year 70.<sup>4</sup> The argument in favour of these events covering a period of two years is strengthened by the consideration that 'Abd al-Malik had reached as far as Buṭnān Ḥabīb in the summer of 69-70/689<sup>5</sup> on his march against Muṣ'ab, before he was forced to return to Damascus to deal with 'Amr's revolt; these journeys would certainly take a considerable time.

The revolt of 'Amr and his death occupied the whole summer; and 'Abd al-Malik spent the rest of the year 70/689 in the capital re-establishing his authority.<sup>6</sup> The next year, 70-71/690, the campaign against Muṣ'ab was

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.263; Ya'qūbī, II, p.323; Murūj, V, p.233; 'Asākir, XIII, fol.230b (quoting Khalīfa); Bughya, fol.256 (quoting Balādhurī); Dhahabī, III, p.58 (quoting Khalīfa); Tahdhīb, III, p.38; Shadharāt, I, p.77.
  2. Tab., II, p.796 (citing Wāqidī); Bidāya, VIII, p.310 (citing Wāqidī); Tahdhīb, III, p.38.
  3. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.187.
  4. Tab., II, p.783; Murūj, V, p.233.
  5. See p. 224.
  6. Sa'd, V, p.169 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.262 (citing al-Layth); Murūj, V, p.240.

resumed and ‘Abd al-Malik with his army once again marched as far as Buṭnān Ḥabīb. Muṣ‘ab was waiting for him in Bājumairā where he had made his camp. Winter came on before the two reached each other and no battle took place, since they both turned back home.<sup>1</sup>

However, taking advantage of Muṣ‘ab's absence from Baṣra, ‘Abd al-Malik tried to instigate a tribal revolt there in his favour. Our information about this event comes mainly from Abū ‘Ubaida, Madā’inī and Abū Mikhnaḥ found in Balādhurī and Ṭabarī. There are only minor differences in these accounts, and on the whole they re-inforce each other. There are another two accounts, one of Wahab ibn Jarīr in Balādhurī, and one of Sha‘bī in al-Futūḥ of Ibn A‘tham; these are brief and without details, although they broadly agree with the three accounts before mentioned. Both Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwairī, however, had restricted themselves to the account of Madā’inī alone.

According to Abū ‘Ubaida, Abū Mikhnaḥ, Wahab ibn Jarīr and al-Sha‘bī,<sup>2</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik began by writing to his supporters (shī‘a) in Baṣra,

1. Naqā’id, II, p.1091; Ansāb, V, p.336 (citing ‘Awāna); Tab., II, p.797; Kūfī, II, fol.48a (citing al-Sha‘bī); Agh., XVII, p.162 (citing Madā’inī); ‘Asākir, XVI, fol.266b (quoting Khalīfa); Mu‘jam, I, p.454; Bidāya, VIII, p.315.
2. Naqā’id, II, pp.1090-91; Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.155 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 157 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr); Kūfī, II, fol.48a (citing al-Sha‘bī).

promising them lavish rewards if they would support his cause against Muṣ'ab. Finding an encouraging response to this offer, 'Abd al-Malik sent Khalīd ibn 'Abdallah ibn Khalīd ibn Asīd to seize Baṣra for him. Madā'inī<sup>1</sup> and Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī, however, do not mention this correspondence, and they say that Khalīd himself suggested to the caliph that he should send him to Baṣra to seize the town for him, and that 'Abd al-Malik agreed to this. Khalīd went to Baṣra secretly with his mawālī and retainers, and took refuge with one of the Ashraf of Bāhila tribe, probably because of its well-known Umayyad sympathy. However, this man found himself unable to protect Khalīd against the forces of the governor and advised him to seek the help of Mālīk ibn Miṣma', the head of the Bakr tribe.<sup>2</sup> Mālīk was one of those mentioned in other sources, to whom 'Abd al-Malik had written, and he took Khalīd into his Jiwar (protection). Soon Ziyād ibn 'Amr al-'Atkī, the chief of the Azd, came to their aid, mainly due to the Hilf between Rabī'a and al-Azd.<sup>3</sup> Members of the tribes of Thaqīf, Tamīm, 'Abd al-Qais and Sadūs are also said to have joined the side of Khalīd.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, we find the majority of the Zubairid

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1. Naqā'id, II, p.749; Zubairī, p.189; Ansāb, IV, ii, p.159; Tab., II, p.798; Kāmil, IV, p.252; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.68.
  2. Ansāb, IV, ii, 00.156 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 159 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p.798 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p.252; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 68. It is also reported that Khalīd directly went to Mālīk ibn Miṣma' and no mention of that Bahilite Sharīf has been given. Naqā'id, II, p.1061; Zubairī, p.189; Ansāb, IV, ii, p.158.
  3. Naqā'id, II, p.729; Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.105-6 (citing Madā'inī and Abū 'Ubaida); Tab., II, p.446 (citing Abū 'Ubaida).
  4. Farazdaq, Dīwān, II, p.57; Zubairī, p.189; Naqā'id, II, pp.749-50, 1091-2; Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.156 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 157-8 (citing =

front was drawn from the Mudarites, headed by 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallah ibn Ma'mar al-Makhzūmī, Muṣ'ab's governor of Baṣra. However, it is clear that the 'Aṣabiyya played only a small role in this rising, since members from the same tribe fought each other on different sides. Abū 'Ubaida and Wahab ibn Jarīr<sup>1</sup> state this clearly. The main reason for the support received by the Umayyad front would appear to be the monetary rewards that they offered their adherents.<sup>2</sup>

The two parties met in a battle in a place called al-Jufra in the district of al-Mirbad, which gave its name to the supporters of Khālīd, "Jufriyya". The fighting between them, according to one account,<sup>3</sup> lasted for forty days, according to another,<sup>4</sup> only twenty-four days. Hearing of the battle, Muṣ'ab sent Zuhr ibn Qais al-Ju'fī, with a thousand horsemen, to help Ibn Ma'mar.<sup>5</sup> 'Abd al-Malik, on the other hand sent 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād ibn Zabiān, whose brother had been killed by Muṣ'ab, with a

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Wahab ibn Jarīr), 160 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p.799 (citing Madā'inī); Bakrī, II, p.387; Kāmil, IV, p.252; Nuwairī, XIX, fols.68-9.

1. Naqā'id, II, pp.1091-2; Ansāb, IV, ii, p.158.
2. Ansāb, V, pp.332 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 344-5; XI, p.14 (citing Madā'inī); fols. 499b-500a (citing Madā'inī); al-'Alī, Al-Tanzīmat al-Ijtīmā'iyya wal Iqtisādiyya fil Baṣra fil Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī, p.108, Baghdad, 191953.
3. Naqā'id, II, p.1092.
4. Naqā'id, II, p.750 (citing Madā'inī); Ansāb, IV, ii, p.116 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p.800 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p.252; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.69.
5. Naqā'id, II, p.1092; who adds another thousand men sent by Muṣ'ab to the help of Ibn Ma'mar; Ansāb, IV, ii, p.161 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p.800 (citing Madā'inī); Kūfī, II, fol.48b (here it is presented that one thousand men were sent by boat); Kāmil, IV, p.252; Nuwairī, XIX, fols.68-9.

Syrian army to help Khālīd, but he arrived too late.<sup>1</sup> Thus the balance of the battle turned to Muṣ'ab's favour. However, soon the two sides entered into negotiations which resulted in the Amān for Khālīd and those who supported him; it was agreed that Khālīd should leave Baṣra, which he did and returned to Damascus, to join 'Abd al-Malik. Fearing Muṣ'ab's punishment, Mālīk ibn Misma' left Baṣra for al-Yamāma after losing one of his eyes in the battle.<sup>2</sup> Muṣ'ab tried in vain to reach Baṣra before Khālīd and his followers left it. Nevertheless, he inflicted a severe punishment on those who remained in the city.<sup>3</sup>

According to Madā'inī and al-Mubarrad,<sup>4</sup> the rising of al-Jufra was in the year 70/689. This date is also given by Abū Mikhnaf in Balādhurī,<sup>5</sup> when he says that it was at the same time as 'Amr ibn Sa'īd's revolt in Damascus, i.e. 69-70/689. Wahab ibn Jarīr<sup>6</sup> may well be agreeing with them in giving the year 69, for he might, like Abū Mikhnaf, have meant the summer of 69-70/689. However, al-Sam'ānī<sup>7</sup> is certainly wrong when he gives the year

1. Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.156(citing Abū Mikhnaf), 161 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p.800 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p.252; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.69.
2. Farazdaq, Dīwān, II, p.57; Naqā'id, II, pp.750(citing Madā'inī), 1092; Zubairī, p.189; Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.156-7 (citing Abū Mikhnaf), 157 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 161 (citing Madā'inī); Mubarrad, I, p.131; Tab., II, pp. 800-1 (citing Madā'inī); Bakrī, II, p.387; Sam'ānī, fol.132a; Kāmil, IV, p.253; Nuwairī, XIX, fols.69-70.
3. Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.162-3; Tab., II, pp.801-3 (citing Madā'inī); Kūfī, II, fols. 48b, 49a, 49b; Kāmil, IV, p.253; Nuwairī, XIX, fols.69-70.
4. Naqā'id, II, p.749 (citing Madā'inī); Mubarrad, I, p.131; Tab., II, p.798 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p.252; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.68.
5. Ansāb, IV, ii, p.157 (citing Abū Mikhnaf).
6. Ibid., IV, ii, p.157.
7. Ansāb, fol.132a.

73/692, for Muṣ'ab himself was killed in the year 72/691.

'Abd al-Malik spent most of the summer 71-72/691 in subduing the insurrection of Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī and the Qaisites who were holding out in Qarqīsyā' since the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ.<sup>1</sup> When he had pacified this area, he marched on Naṣībīn (Nisibis), where about two thousand of the Khashabiyya, a remnant of al-Mukhtar's followers, were still unsubmissive. On being offered the Aman, they surrendered and were enrolled in the army of the caliph.<sup>2</sup>

Now came the time for the third and last decisive encounter with Muṣ'ab: 'Abd al-Malik set out with a large army from Damascus and made his camp in Maskin. When Muṣ'ab heard of this advance against him, he left Kūfa to fight 'Abd al-Malik, stationing himself at Bājumairā.<sup>3</sup> The battle between them took place in Dair al-Jāthlīq, (monastery of Catholics), between Maskin and Bājumairā.

The time preceeding the battle was not wasted by 'Abd al-Malik; he wrote to the tribal chiefs among Muṣ'ab's followers, promising ~~them~~

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1. See Chapter III, p. 174.

2. Murūj, V, p.241; Agh., V, p.155; VIII, p.33; XI, p.47.

3. Sa'd, V, p.169;(citing Wāqidī); Ma'ārif, p.156; Ansāb, V, pp.335 (citing 'Awāna), 332 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr); Dīnawarī, p.316; Tab., II, pp.804-5 (citing Wāqidī), 804 (citing Madā' inī); Kūfī, II, fol.50b, where troops from Egypt are said to have been with 'Abd al-Malik; Iqd, IV, p.410; Murūj, V, p.242, here also there is mention of Egyptian troops; Tanbīh, p.313; Bad', VI, p.23; Agh., XVII, pp.161-2 (citing Madā' inī); Asākir, XVI, fol.217a; Kāmīl, IV, pp.263-4; Dhahabī, III, p.108; Bidāya, VIII, p.314; Ibar, III, p.76.



them governorships and money rewards if they would betray Muṣ'ab.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the discontented among them had already written to 'Abd al-Malik offering him their support in return for the governorship of Iṣbahān.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, by killing six thousand men from among the followers of al-Mukhtār, Muṣ'ab had made enemies, not only of their relatives, but also of most of the Kūfans, who disapproved of this act of savagery.<sup>3</sup> The

Baṣrans also, especially those who had taken part in the rising of al-Jufra, never forgot the humiliating punishment Muṣ'ab had inflicted on those who had supported Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Asīd.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, Muṣ'ab had alienated both peoples by his cruel behaviour. To these factors, one might add the insubordinate nature of the tribesmen in Iraq, and their tradition of frequently shifting their allegiance, which also worked against Muṣ'ab. Muṣ'ab seems to have been aware of his isolation and tried to get the loyalty of the Baṣrans

1. Imāma, II, p.23; Ansāb, V, pp.337 (citing 'Awāna), 340 (citing al-Haytham), 344 (citing Madā'inī); XI, pp.1, 6ff. (citing al-Haytham), 11-13, 13-14 (citing Madā'inī), 27; Dīnawarī, pp.317-18; Ya'qūbī, II, pp.317-18; Tab., II, pp.804 (citing Madā'inī), 804 (citing Wāqidī); 'Iqd, IV, p.410; Murūj, V, p.243; Agh., XVII, p.162 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p.265; Dhahabī, III, p.108; Bidāya, VIII, p.314; 'Ibar, III, p.77; Shadharāt, I, p.79.
2. Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.157-8; V, pp.332-333 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 335, 351; Agh., XVII, p.161 (citing Madā'inī); X, p.94; 'Asākir, XVI, fol.271a; Kāmil, IV, p.264; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.207; 'Ibar, III, p.76.
3. Ansāb, V, pp.262-3; Dīnawarī, p.315; Tab., II, pp.740-1, 749-50 (citing Madā'inī); Kūfī, II, fol.31a; 'Asākir, XVI, fol.27a (citing 'Abdallāh ibn abī Rabī'a al-Makhzūmī); Kāmil, IV, p.225; E. I., (Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair).
4. See p. 234.

by giving them the 'Aṭā' twice a year, but without avail.<sup>1</sup> In vain also were the warnings of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qais,<sup>2</sup> the Tamīmīte chief, and Qais ibn al-Haytham al-Sulamī, not to let the hungry Syrians get into their rich Iraqi land. When Muṣ'ab asked the Baṣrans to fight with him against 'Abd al-Malik and the Syrians, they showed great reluctance and insisted that the Khārījīte threat in Baṣra should be dealt with first. Thus Muṣ'ab was forced to dispense with a part of his army, in sending al-Muhallab with the best troops of Baṣra against the Khārījīte.<sup>3</sup> Muṣ'ab showed himself a short sighted leader by not listening to the warning of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ash'ar against the traitor-chiefs, nor did he follow Ibrāhīm's request not to send him any as reinforcements. Ibrāhīm had given to Muṣ'ab, unopened, a letter he had received from 'Abd al-Malik, and told him that all the other leaders had probably received similar letters, but had kept them to themselves.<sup>4</sup> He was

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.271 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 280; Azmina, II, p.134; 'Asākir, XVI, fol.271a.
  2. Ansāb, V, pp.332 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 344-5; fols. 499b-500a (citing Madā' inī); XI, pp.14-15 (citing Madā' inī); Ṭab., II, p.806 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba).
  3. Ansāb, V, pp.332;335-6 (citing 'Awāna); Murūj, V, p.241; 'Asākir XVI, fol. 271a.
  4. Hayawān, V, p.594; Imāma, II, p.23; Ansāb, V, pp.337 (citing 'Awāna), 340-1 (citing al-Haytham); XI, pp.6 (citing 'Awana), 11-12; Dinawarī, pp.317-18; Ṭab., II, p.805 (citing Wāqidī); 'lqd, IV, p.411; Murūj, V, p.243; Agh., XVII, p.162 (citing Madā' inī); Kāmil, IV, p.265; Dhahabī, III, p.108; Bidāya, VIII, p.315; 'Ibar, III, p.77.

the only chief to remain faithful to Muṣ'ab until his death at the beginning of the battle. The names of the treacherous leaders are preserved to us by al-Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, and Mas'ūdī.<sup>1</sup> It appears from their names that they were all Kūfans. On the other hand, we find the Rabī'ites of Baṣra delighted that Muṣ'ab and his son 'Īsā were killed and that they boasted that they were responsible for his death.<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar in the beginning of the battle, 'Attāb ibn Warqā', who was on the cavalry of the Kūfans in Muṣ'ab's army, gave way, while the other Kūfan leaders, such as Qaṭan ibn 'Abdallāh al-Ḥārithī, with Madhhij, Ḥajjār ibn Abjar and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, refused to obey Muṣ'ab's orders, and left him almost alone in the battle field.<sup>3</sup>

Owing to the close friendship between Muṣ'ab and 'Abd al-Malik in their early life, the latter offered to spare Muṣ'ab's life and was prepared to give him the governorship of Iraq, or any other country, in return for his

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1. A'shā Hamdān, *Dīwān*, p.313; *Ansāb*, V, pp.338-9 (citing 'Awāna), 440-1 (citing al-Haytham), 344 (citing Madā'inī); XI, pp.1-2, 6-9 (citing al-Haytham), 13-15 (citing Madā'inī), 21-3; *Tab.*, II, pp.804, 806-7 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba); *Murūj*, V, p.245; *Kāmil*, IV, p.266.
  2. A'shā Hamdān, *Dīwān*, pp.314-15; Bakkar, p.314 (citing Muṣ'ab al-Zubairī); *Ansāb*, XI, p.282.
  3. *Ansāb*, V, pp.331 (citing 'Awāna), 340-1 (citing al-Haytham); XI, pp.6-7 (citing al-Haytham); *Tab.*, II, pp.806-7 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba), 'Iqd, IV, p.410; *Murūj*, V, p.245; *Agh.*, XVII, p.163 (citing Madā'inī); *Kāmil*, IV, p.266; Dhahabī, III, p.109 (quoting Ṭabarī); *Bidāya*, VIII, p.315; *Ibar*, III, p.78.

allegiance,<sup>1</sup> but in vain. 'Abd al-Malik then tried to save the life of Muṣ'ab's son, but without success, and 'Isā was killed before the eyes of his father. Then Muṣ'ab, already bleeding from many arrow shots, was killed by Zā'ida ibn Qudāma al-Thaqafī, who, when dealing the fatal blow, shouted, "Yā li Thārāt al-Mukhtār". 'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād ibn Zabiān cut the head from the body and went with it to 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>2</sup> Thus the death of al-Mukhtār had not been allowed to go unrevenged; the death of Muṣ'ab shows that al-Mukhtār's followers did not submit after their leader's death but continued to work underground, to reappear when they found a favourable opportunity.

The date of the battle of Dair al-Jāthliq between Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān was the month of Jumādā I or II,

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1. Ḥadhhif, p.47; Ansāb, V, pp.339 (citing 'Awāna), 340; XI, pp.2-3 (citing 'Awāna), 7 (citing al-Haytham); Tab., II, pp.808-9 (citing Madā' inī); Amālī, p.122 (citing Madā' inī); Murūj, V, p.247; Agh., XVII, p.163 (citing Madā' inī); Kāmil, IV, p.267; Dhahabī, III, p.109; Bidāya, VIII, p.315 (citing Madā' inī); 'Ibar, III, p.78.
  2. Sa'd, V, p.169 (citing Wāqidī); Imāma, II, p.23; Ansāb, V, pp.334 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 340; XI, pp.5 (citing 'Awāna), 7 (citing al-Haytham); Dīnawarī, p.319; Ya'qūbī, II, p.317; Tab., II, p.809 (citing Madā' inī); 'Iqd, IV, p.411; Murūj, V, pp.248-9; Agh., VII, p.117 (citing Madā' inī); Jamharat, p.296; 'Asākir, XVI, fol.171 (citing al-Sha'bī); Mu'jam, IV, p.530; Kāmil, IV, p.268; Sharḥ., III, p.296; Dhahabī, III, p.110; Bidāya, VIII, p.316 (citing Madā' inī); 'Ibar, III, pp.78-9; Shadharāt, I, p.79.

72/691.<sup>1</sup> Wāqidī in Ṭabarī,<sup>2</sup> however, alone among the early authorities, gives the year 71/690. The fact that this date is repeated by other late sources<sup>3</sup> is not evidence that it is correct, for it is likely that they have used Wāqidī's account as their source. Moreover, there is another account by Wāqidī himself, in Ibn Sa'd's Ṭabaqāt and repeated by Ibn 'Asākir,<sup>4</sup> which gives the year 72/691. Furthermore, the date 72/691 is confirmed by the fact that the victory of 'Abd al-Malik was followed by the sending of al-Ḥajjāj against Ibn al-Zubair, which our authorities unanimously agree was in the year 72/691.

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1. Sa'd, V, p.136 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, pp.264,265; Idem, Ṭabaqāt, p.603; Ma'ārif, p.156, Ansāb, V, pp.286 (citing Madā'inī); 342; XI, pp.8, 26 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī and Abū Mikhnaf); Dīnawarī, p.319; Ya'qūbī, II, p.317; Ṭab., II, pp.318 (citing Madā'inī), 1466 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba and Madā'inī); Murūj, V, p.243 ff.; Tanbīh, p.313; Agh., XVII, p.161ff. (citing Madā'inī); Āthār, p.318; 'Asākir, XVI, fol. 177a (quoting Khalīfa), 264a, 273 (quoting Ibn Sa'd and Wāqidī); Mu'jam, IV, p.529; Dhahabī, III, pp.108-10, 210; Bidāya, VIII, p.316 (citing Madā'inī); Shadharāt, I, p.79.
  2. Ṭab., II, p.804ff. (citing Wāqidī).
  3. Mashāhīr, p.67; Kāmil, IV, p.263ff.; Fakhrī, p.112; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.70; Mukhtaṣar, I, pp.314-6; Ibar, III, p.79.
  4. Sa'd, V, p.136 (citing Wāqidī); 'Asākir, XVI, fol.273 (citing Wāqidī).

Following the victory over Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair at Dair al-Jāthliq, 'Abd al-Malik entered Kūfa, where he received the homage of the people, and appointed his officials. He also sent al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī at the head of two thousand Syrians against 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair in Mecca.<sup>1</sup> The choice of al-Ḥajjāj to lead this campaign was because of his strong leadership, as evidenced in the efficiency with which he restored discipline among the mutinous troops of the caliph, when he was in the rearguard in the campaign against Muṣ'ab.<sup>2</sup> Even before that, he had shown unlimited loyalty to 'Abd al-Malik in the negotiations with Zufar ibn al-Hārith al-Kilābī. Al-Ḥajjāj refused to pray with Zufar, because he was a rebel against the caliph.<sup>3</sup>

However, al-Ḥajjāj's army was not the first Syrian army that 'Abd al-Malik had sent against 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair. Going back to the time

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1. Sa'd, V, p. 169 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, pp. 340-1; Ma'arif, p. 156; Imāma, II, pp. 23-4 (the number of the army here is given as 1500); Ansāb, V, pp. 346 (citing al-Haytham), 352, 357 (citing Wāqidī) and 'Awāna; XI, pp. 17-18 (citing al-Haytham), 39-40 (citing Wāqidī and 'Awāna); Dīnawarī, p. 319; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 318 (the number here is 20,000); Tab., II, pp. 839-40 (citing Wāqidī); Kūfī, II, fols. 52a-52b; 'Iqd., IV, p. 414 (citing Abū Ma'shar); Murūj, V, p. 259; Bad', VI, pp. 24-5; 'Asākir, III, fol. 177a; Kāmil, IV, p. 284; Usd, III, pp. 163-4; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 3a-b (citing Ibn-Ḥabīb); Bughya, fol. 39; 'Ibrī, p. 193; Mukhtaṣar, I, p. 207; I, p. 207; Dhahabī, III, p. 113 (citing Wāqidī); Bidāya, VIII, p. 325; 'Ibar, III, p. 85. With this army of al-Ḥajjāj, 'Abd al-Malik is said to have sent Mālīk ibn Shurāhīl al-Khulānī with three thousand men from Egypt by a sea route. Kindī, I, p. 51; Kūfī, II, fol. 53a.
  2. E. I.,<sup>2</sup> (Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf).
  3. Ansāb, V, p. 305; Tadhkira, I, fol. 78a.

of his succession, 'Abd al-Malik had sent an army of six thousand men under 'Urwa ibn Unaif to al-Ḥijāz, with the orders not to enter Medīna, but to make his camp in al-'Arḍa ( *أرض* ). This was perhaps to protect Syria from any retaliatory attack from Ibn al-Zubair. When Ibn al-Zubair's governor of Medīna, al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥātib al-Jumāhī, learnt of the advance of this army, he fled, leaving his office vacant. 'Abd al-Malik's army remained there undisturbed for a month and then went back home, on the caliph's orders.<sup>1</sup>

'Abd al-Malik sent another army to al-Ḥijāz, consisting of four thousand men under 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn al-Ḥakam ibn al-Āṣ. Again, Ibn al-Zubair's governor of Fadak and Khaibar, Sulaimān ibn Khālīd al-Zuraqī, fled. He was pursued and killed by a detachment of horsemen under Abu'l-Qamqām, sent by 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn al-Ḥakam. However, Ibn al-Zubair's new governor of Medīna, Jābir ibn al-Aswad al-Zuhri, retaliated by sending 640 men under Abū Bakr ibn Abī Qais against Abu'l-Qamqām. They found the latter with his followers in Khaibar, where he was defeated, and thirty of his men taken prisoner, later to be killed.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Malik dispatched Ṭāriq ibn 'Amr with a Syrian

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1. Ansāb, V, p.355 (citing Wāqidī); XI, p.34 (citing Wāqidī); Kāmil, IV, p.283; Ibar, III, p.84.
  2. Ansāb, V, p.356 (citing Wāqidī); XI, pp.35-6 (citing Wāqidī); Kāmil, IV, pp.283-4; Ibar, III, p.84.

army, ordering him to station himself between 'Āyla and Wādī'l-Qurā, with instructions to check the activities of Ibn al-Zubair's governors, to protect the land lying between his camp and Syria, and finally, to cope with any situation that might develop.<sup>1</sup> When he reached the arranged place, Ṭāriq sent some of his horsemen against Abū Bakr in revenge for Abu'l-Qamqām. They killed Abū Bakr and his followers. Ibn al-Zubair, however, had already written to al-Qubā', his governor of Baṣra, instructing him to send two thousand men to defend Medīna against the Syrians. These reinforcements did not arrive until after the death of Abū Bakr and his followers. They were therefore ordered to go to fight Ṭāriq's army. The two armies met near Medīna in a place called Shabakat al-Dam (شبكة الدم), where the Baṣrans were annihilated. Hearing of this, Ibn al-Zubair wrote to his governor of Medīna, ordering a recruitment of two thousand men from the city and its environs to defend their city; he promised to send money for their pay. However, the money for this recruitment was never sent, and it was therefore abolished and called "Fard al-Rīḥ".<sup>2</sup> (فرض الرياح) Ṭāriq and his army returned to Wādī'l-Qurā and remained there until they received orders from 'Abd al-Malik, to join the army of al-Ḥajjāj.

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1. Ansāb, V, p.356 (citing Wāqidī); XI, p.36 (citing Wāqidī); 'Asākir, VII, p.40 (citing Khalīfa); Kāmil, IV, p.284; 'Ibar, III, pp.84-5.
  2. Ansāb, V, pp.356-7 (citing Wāqidī); XI, pp.36-8 (citing Wāqidī); 'Asākir, VII, pp.40-1 (citing Khalīfa and Ibn Sa'd); Kāmil, IV, p.284; 'Ibar, III, p.85.



Al-Ḥajjāj, obeying 'Abd al-Malik's orders, made his camp at al-Ṭā'if, from where he made frequent skirmishes against the troops of Ibn al-Zubair, in which al-Ḥajjāj was almost always victorious. However, when the negotiations with Ibn al-Zubair failed, and realizing that these skirmishes would not lead to a decisive victory, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to 'Abd al-Malik asking for re-inforcements and for permission to attack Mecca by force.<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Malik granted both requests. The significance of 'Abd al-Malik's original reluctance to allow al-Ḥajjāj to enter Medīna and Mecca, has been discussed in detail in Chapter I.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it was argued that al-Ḥajjāj showed considerable scrupulousness in his attack on al-Ka'ba.<sup>3</sup> The historical tradition which is hostile to the Umayyads in general and al-Ḥajjāj in particular, have ignored the fact that it was only the new part of al-Ka'ba that was attacked, and emphasized only that al-Ḥajjāj and his master, 'Abd al-Malik, violated the sanctity of the holy shrine. However, when, during the storming of al-Ka'ba, a sudden thunderstorm raged and was interpreted by religious men among his followers as a sign of Divine disapproval, al-Ḥajjāj succeeded in convincing all that it was but a natural

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.358 (citing 'Awāna), 359 (citing Wāqidī); XI, pp.40-1, (citing 'Awāna), 42 (citing Wāqidī); Dīnawarī, p.319; Tab., II, p.830 (citing Wāqidī); Kūfī, II, fol.53a; Kāmil, IV, pp.284-5; Mir'āt, VI, fol.3b (citing Ibn Ḥabīb); Dhahabī, III, p.113 (citing Wāqidī); Bidāya, VIII, p.325; Ibar, III, p.85.

2. See pp. 50 - 4.

3. Ibid., pp. 52 - 3.

phenomenon, and even that it could be a portent of victory.<sup>1</sup> During the siege, which started according to Wāqidī<sup>2</sup> on the first of Dhul Qu'da, 72/25th March 792, and lasted for over six months, Ibn al-Zubair was hard pressed by al-Ḥajjāj, who made a complete blockade of Mecca, preventing all food and supplies from reaching al-Ḥijāz from outside.<sup>3</sup> As a result of this, prices in Mecca became inflated, which was aggravated by the avarice of Ibn al-Zubair.<sup>4</sup> Since al-Ḥajjāj and his Syrian army were constantly supplied

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1. Ansāb, V, pp.362 (citing 'Awāna and Madā'inī), 363 (citing Wāqidī); XI, pp.47-8 (citing 'Awāna), 48 (citing Madā'inī), 48-9 (citing Wāqidī); Ya'qūbī, II, p.318; Tab., II, pp.844-5 (citing Wāqidī); 'Asākir, IV, p.50; Kāmil, IV, p.285; Mir'āt, VI, fol.5a; Dhahabī, III, p.114 (citing Wāqidī); 'Ibar, III, p.86.
  2. Sa'd, V, p.169; Ansāb, V, pp.367-8; 386; XI, p.57; Tab., II, pp.844, 851; Kāmil, IV, p.290; Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa, I, p.325; Sharḥ, XX, p.122; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.207; Bidāya, VIII, p.329; Dhahab, p.26.
  3. Nasab, fol.190b; Jamharat, p.233; Bidāya, VIII, p.329 (citing Wāqidī).
  4. Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, I, pp.319-20; Ma'ārif, p.99; Imāma, II, pp.20, 23; Ansāb, V, pp.194-5 (citing Madā'inī), 281 (citing 'Awāna), 360-1 (citing Wāqidī), 361-3 (citing Wāqidī and Ibn al-Kalbī), 373; XI, pp.44-6 (citing Wāqidī), 46-7 (citing Wāqidī and Ibn al-Kalbī), 49 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Dīnawarī, p.314; Ya'qūbī, II, p.319; Ma'ad, fols. 46b, 76b; 'Iqd, II, pp.96-7 (citing al-Zubair ibn Bakkār), 98; IV, pp.176-7; Murūj, V, pp.174-5; Bad', VI, pp.25, 26; Agh., I, p.9 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba); IV, p.138 (citing al-Zubair ibn Bakkār); X, pp.165-6; Jalīs, fol.160a (citing Madā'inī); Latā'if, p.140; Nihāya, I, pp.78, 295-6; III, p.265; Tadhkira, I, fols. 130a, 139b; Kāmil, IV, pp.286, 414; Mir'āt, VI, fol.4b; Sharḥ, XX, pp.103, 145 (citing Madā'inī); Fakhrī, p.110; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.204; Bidāya, VIII, p.137; 'Ibar, III, p.68; Khizāna, III, pp.237-8; IV, pp.45-6; Al-Faḍīl fi'l-Funūn, fol.103b-104a (citing al-Sha'bī).

with all provisions by the caliph, they enjoyed far better conditions than the troops of Ibn al-Zubair, so that many began to desert Ibn al-Zubair, especially when al-Ḥajjāj issued a free pardon for all who joined him. It is said that ten thousand of Ibn al-Zubair's followers, including two of his sons, defected to al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Zubair went into the battle-field with greatly depleted forces; among his loyal supporters was his youngest son. On the 17th Jumādā, I 73/18th September 692, Ibn al-Zubair was slain after showing considerable bravery.<sup>2</sup> Other reports give the date as the month of Jumādā II, while al-Bustī alone gives the year 72/691.<sup>4</sup>

At the death of Ibn al-Zubair and the submission of al-Ḥijāz, the unity of the Muslims was restored and 'Abd al-Malik was recognized as the sole caliph. It is for this reason that the year 73/692 was called "the year

1. Ansāb, V, pp. 194, 364, 376-7; XI, pp. 45, 51; Tab., II, p. 845; Kūfī, II, fol. 53b; Murūj, V, p. 262; 'Asākir, VII, p. 415; Kāmil, IV, pp. 286-7; Sharḥ, XX, pp. 144 (citing Mas'ūdī), 118 (quoting Ṭabarī); Dhahabī, III, pp. 114-15 (citing Wāqidī); Bidāya, VIII, pp. 330, 341.
2. Sa'd, V, pp. 169-70 (citing Wāqidī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārikh., I, p. 343; Idem, Ṭabaqāt, p. 31; Muḡhtāḥ, p. 25; Ma'ārif, p. 156; Imāma, II, p. 25; Ansāb, V, p. 368 (citing Wāqidī); Qudāt, I, p. 142; Tab., II, pp. 844 (citing Wāqidī), 849 (citing Wāqidī); Ṭanbīh, pp. 313-14; 'Asākir, VII, pp. 341-2; Ināfa, I, p. 130; Dhahab, p. 25; Iṣāba, II, p. 759; Tahdhīb, V, p. 312; Suyūṭī, p. 142; Shadharāt, I, p. 80.
3. Ansāb, XI, p. 25 (citing Wāqidī); Dīnawarī, p. 321; Tab., II, p. 851 (citing Wāqidī); Murūj, V, p. 209; Kindī, I, p. 51; Kāmil, IV, pp. 289-90; Uṣd, III, p. 164; Sharḥ, XX, p. 104; Mukhtaṣar, I, p. 207; Dhahabī, III, p. 75; 'Ibar, III, p. 89; Suyūṭī, p. 142.
4. Mashāḥīr, p. 30. However, Ibn A'tham gives it as 10th Jumādā I, 73, while another account in Mas'ūdī gives the 14th Jumādā I, 73. Kūfī, II, fol. 55a; Murūj, V, p. 266.

of unity" (‘Ām al-Jamā‘a.)<sup>1</sup>.

What was the nature of the support which Ibn al-Zubair had received for his movement? To some, he was a champion who would restore the political supremacy of al-Ḥijāz, lost since the murder of ‘Uthmān.<sup>2</sup> To others, Ibn al-Zubair was the focus of opposition to the Umayyads after the murder of al-Ḥusain ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, which left no active ‘Alid claimant.<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Zubair was aware of the possibilities in this source of support, as shown in his encouragement to al-Ḥusain to leave al-Ḥijāz for Kūfa;<sup>4</sup> he did not lay claim to the caliphate before the death of al-Ḥusain. This tragic death, he tried to exploit for his own ends, by exposing the harsh treatment that the Umayyads had dealt to the family of the Prophet.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Ibn al-Zubair laid great stress on the religious aspect of his caliphate. He tried to imitate ‘Umar I, in carrying the Durra as the emblem of his caliphate, and claimed

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1. ‘Iqd, V, p.35; Agh., XI, p.143 (citing Ibn al-‘Arabī).
  2. Hell, Arabic Civilization, p.52, London, 1926; Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, pp.199-200.
  3. See Chapter II, p. 73
  4. Maḥāsin, pp.152-3 (citing al-Sha‘bī); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, pp.223-4; Akhbār, fols. 47b-48a (citing al-Sha‘bī); Tab., II, pp.232-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, I, fols. 192a-193b, 207a-207b, 234a; Sharḥ, XX, p.134; Bidāya, VIII, pp.189 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 190.
  5. Akhbār, fol. 47b; Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.16-17, fol.262a; Kūfī, II, fol. 11a.

that he had been appointed by 'Uthmān as his successor in the defence of the Dār,<sup>1</sup> although there were many other Quraishites and companions of the Prophet better qualified for this task. He also made capital out of the Holy city by using it as the headquarters of his movement; he called himself "Al-ʿĀidh" (the one who takes refuge in the Kaʿba).<sup>2</sup> He was helped in portraying himself in a religious way by the fact of his relationship with the Prophet on both his father's and his mother's side,<sup>3</sup> and by the belief of the people of Ḥijāz that the sons of the old companions of the Prophet were the most eligible for the caliphate.<sup>4</sup>

There were also economic reasons for the support received by Ibn al-Zubair. The fiscal reforms introduced by Muʿāwiyā I made the provinces

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1. Al-Jāhiz, al-ʿUthmāniyya, p.223; Ansāb, V, 74, 189-90 (citing Madāʾin); ʿIqd, IV, p.418; ʿAsākir, VII, p.402; Mirʾāt, VI, fol.4b; Sharḥ, II, p.166; Bidayā, VII, 167.
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.224; Ṭab., II, p.222; Murūj, V, p.165; Kāmil, IV, p.13.
  3. Zubairī, pp.237-9; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, I, p.31; Jāhiz, al-ʿUthmāniyya, p.224; Nasab, fols.24a-24b; Mashāhīr, p.30; Lataʾif, p.12; Akḥbār Isbahān, I, pp.46-7; ʿAsākir, VII, pp.396-7; Usd, III, pp.161-2; Mirʾāt, VI, fols.4a-4b; Dhahabī, III, p.167ff.; Isāba, II, p.75ff.; Tahdhīb, V, p.213; Suyūfī, pp.141-2; E.I.<sup>2</sup>, (ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Zubair).
  4. Durī, Muqaddima fī Tārīkh Sadr al-Islām, p.64, Beirut, 1961.

contribute to the expenses of the State. They also laid down the principle that pensions were in return for military service, particularly for the government. This had deprived a considerable number in Ḥijāz of their pay as heirs of the first recipients of pensions,<sup>1</sup> leading many of them to look bitterly on the Umayyads. Moreover, the Umayyads, through their ownership of large estates in Medīna, controlled the market in wheat there, which brought upon them the hostility of the people caused by their economic grievances at the high price of essential food stuffs in Medīna, as compared to Syria and the rest of the Empire.<sup>2</sup> All these discontents in Medīna found a means of expression in the opposition movement of Ibn al-Zubair.

Ibn al-Zubair himself had been ambitious for the caliphate from quite an early date. He was pushed forward towards this aim by the sudden death of Yazīd and the very short reign of his son Mu'āwīya II. But in other ways Ibn al-Zubair showed himself less able as a politician than his rival, 'Abd al-Malik. A cause such as his needed active propaganda work and a generous distribution of money to rally the people round him and to propagate his claims through the tongues of the poets; however, he was a man very reluctant to part with his money, even when it would pay back

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1. Futūḥ, p.458; Lammens, Le Califat de Yazīd I<sup>er</sup>, pp.804-13; Beirut, 1921; E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (al-Ḥarra).

2. Imāma, I, p.169 (citing 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far); Ya'qūbī, II, pp.267-8. These estates are said to have yielded at the time of Mu'āwīya I, 150,000 Wusq of dates and 50,000 Wusq of wheat annually. Al-'Alī, Muslim Estates in Ḥijāz in the First Century of Hijra, p.251, JESHO, II, 1969.

large dividends in terms of support, while 'Abd al-Malik opened his hands to embrace everyone who came to him, showing generosity and forgiveness.

Another reason for the failure of Ibn al-Zubair was that he shut himself up in Mecca. Countering the religious support that this brought him, were the shortcomings of the area as a headquarters; economically, it was a poor district, relying on other provinces for its support, and the population of al-Hijāz were not politically active, preferring a life of pleasure (or in other cases piety) to that of fighting causes. Ibn al-Zubair neglected to make full use of the support he received in other, more favourable areas. For example, he left Muṣ'ab in Iraq to his own resources, which were quickly exhausted by the fighting against the Khārijites and the Shī'a.<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen<sup>2</sup> considers that Ibn al-Zubair lost a golden opportunity when he refused the offer of al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numair that he would secure the bai'a for Ibn al-Zubair in Syria, if he would go there. However, what reason had Ibn al-Zubair to trust this offer of a past enemy who had often fought against him? Even had he trusted Ibn Numair, his chances of a good reception in Syria were not high, as it was the centre of the Umayyads and their supporters. He committed a graver political fault when he failed to ally the opposition in Iraq to himself, so that the energy of his supporters was

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1. See p. 236 ff.

2. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.200.

exhausted by fighting the Khārijites and the Shī'a there, never leaving him free to face the Umayyads. The support of the Shī'a was lost by his strong anti-ʿAlid feelings, which dated from his early life; this also aroused opposition to him in his own ranks, among his close supporters.<sup>1</sup>

The failure of Ibn al-Zubair's movement owes a great deal to its leader's meanness, and his lack of political ability to make the best use of his chances.

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārikh, I, p.204 (citing Abū ʿUbaida); Ākhbār, fols. 47a - 49b (citing Abū Mikhnaf and al-Shaʿbī), 51b-52a (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Jahiz, Mīn Fuṣul al-Jāhiz, fol. 4b-5a; Imāma, II, pp.47, 55-6, 61, 64, 67, 68; Ansāb, IV, ii, p.28 (citing al-Haytham); V, p.372 (citing al-Zuhrī); XI, pp.65-6 (citing al-Zuhrī); fols.174a-174b, 178a (citing Abū Mikhnaf), 180a; Kūfī, I, fols.30a, 31a, 31b, 32b, 36b; Jalīs, fols. 36a-36b; ʿIqd, IV, pp.313-14; Murūj, V, pp.184 (citing ʿUmar ibn Shabba), 184-5 (citing ʿUmar ibn Shabba), 187-88; Agh., XIII, p.168; XVI, p.131 (citing Madāʾ inī); Khulafāʾ, II, fols. 201a-201b; Hilya, I, p.91; ʿAsākir, VII, pp.201-2; Sharḥ, I, pp.22-3, 233-4; II, pp.169-70 (citing al-Zubair ibn Bakkār); VII, pp.38, 230-1; XIX, pp.91-2 (quoting Iṣbahānī); XX, pp.128-30, 134, 138 (quoting Masʿūdī).



## CHAPTER V

OTHER OPPOSITION MOVEMENTSThe Revolt of 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Jarūd

In the year 73/694, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was transferred from the governorship of al-Ḥijāz to al-Iraq.<sup>1</sup> The famous inauguration speech in which he proclaimed his policies, showed the Iraqis from the very start that the time of leniency was over.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj's first and most urgent task in Iraq was the restoration of discipline among the troops of Basra and Kūfa, who, on the death of Bishr ibn Marwān, the previous governor, had deserted the camp of al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra in Rāmḥurmuz and were wandering in the towns. Al-Muhallab was garrisoned at Rāmḥuruz to fight the Kharijites who were threatening Basra. Al-Ḥajjāj made an announcement that all deserters should return to camp within three days, or else they would be killed and their property laid open to plunder;<sup>3</sup>

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1. See Chapter III, p. 210.

2. *Jumhūrī*, p. 146; *Bayān*, II, pp. 164-5; Al-Zubair ibn Bakkār, *Akhbār al-Muwafaqiyyāt fi'l-Siyar*, fol. 47ff.; *Imāma*, II, pp. 25-6 (citing *Abū Ma'shar*); *Ansāb*, XI, pp. 266-7 (citing *Abū Mikhnaḥ* and *'Awāna*), 269-70 (citing *Mada'īnī*); 270-3, 274 (citing *Mada'īnī*); *Ya'qūbī*, II, pp. 326-7; *Mubarrad*, I, pp. 380-1; III, p. 366; *Tab.*, II, pp. 863-6, 869-70, 870-2 (citing *'Umar ibn Shabba*); *'Iqd*, IV, p. 124; *Murūj*, V, pp. 292-302; *Jalīs*, fol. 18a (citing *al-Sha'bī*); *'Asakir*, IV, pp. 52-3; *Tadhkira*, I, fol. 69a; *Kāmil*, IV, pp. 303-8; *Sharḥ*, IV, pp. 181-4; XI, p. 45, *Nuwairī*, VII, p. 244; *Bidāya*, IX, pp. 7-8; *'Ibar*, III, pp. 93-4.

3. *Bayān*, II, p. 165; Al-Zubair ibn Bakkār, *Akhbār al-Muwafaqiyyāt fi'l-Siyar*, fol. 50; *Ansāb*, XI, pp. 270 (citing *Mada'īnī*), 274 (citing =

and he kept his word. The soldiers streamed back to their camp and al-Ḥajjāj himself supervised the distribution of their pay and accompanied them as far as Rustuqābād.<sup>1</sup> It was at this time, Sha‘bān 75 A.H., that al-Ḥajjāj was faced with a very dangerous revolt led by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Jārūd, the Sayyid of ‘Abd al-Qais.

Thanks to Balādhurī we know much about this revolt. Unfortunately, the account of Abū Mikhnaḥ in Ṭabarī is no more than a brief notice, which adds nothing to the account of Balādhurī. Late sources, such as Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Khaldūn, as usual do but repeat the early sources, in this case the narrative of Balādhurī.

The revolt led by Ibn al-Jārūd started as a dispute over pay. During the governorship of Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubair in Baṣra, the Baṣrans not only received their pay (‘Aṭā’) twice a year, but also were awarded an increase in pay of one hundred dirhams each.<sup>2</sup> In one of his speeches to the Baṣrans,

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= Abū Mikhnaḥ), pp. 275-6; Mubarrad, I, pp. 363-6, 382; Ṭab., II, pp. 865-6, 868-71 (citing ‘Umar ibn Shabba); Kufī, II, fols. 67a-68a; Ghurar, fols. 12-15; Murūj, V, p. 297; Tadhkira, I, fol. 69a; Kāmil, IV, pp. 297-8; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 180-2; Bīdāya, IX, pp. 3, 8; ‘Ibar, III, pp. 90-4, 320ff.

1. Ansāb, XI, p. 277; Mubarrad, I, p. 383; III, pp. 366-7; Ṭab., II, p. 866 (citing ‘Umar ibn Shabba); Murūj, V, pp. 298-302; Kāmil, IV, pp. 305-6; Sharḥ, IV, p. 182; ‘Ibar, III, p. 94.
2. Ansāb, V, pp. 271 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 280; XI, p. 280; Ṭab., II, p. 874 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Azmina, II, p. 134 (citing Ibn al-‘Arabī); ‘Asākir, VII, fol. 271a; Mu‘jam, II, p. 834; Kāmil, IV, p. 309; Mir’āt, VI, fol. 15b; Dhahabī, III, p. 119 (citing Ṭabarī); ‘Ibar, III, p. 95.

al-Ḥajjāj declared that this increase of pay was illegal and that he would permit it no longer. He gave as reason the fact that it had been granted them by Muṣ'ab, who was an enemy of the caliph.<sup>1</sup> Probably the real reason was the need to economise in order to meet the cost of the war against the Kharijites, although he also found it an occasion to demonstrate his loyalty to the caliph against all enemies.

In protest against this declaration, 'Abdallah ibn al-Jārūd said that the increase had been approved by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik himself during the governorship of his brother Dishr in Iraq. But al-Ḥajjāj, seeing this reply as a challenge to his authority, threatened Ibn al-Jārūd with death if he dared to speak again in such a matter. The latter made it clear that he was expressing not only his own personal view, but that of all the people concerned. Realizing the truth of this, al-Ḥajjāj tactfully restrained from mentioning the matter of pay for a while, in order to give himself time to establish himself firmly in the town. However, he did not intend to give up the matter altogether, and only a few months later, he mentioned the reduction again, to be met with the same reply from Ibn al-Jārūd, supported by the Ashraf of the city.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ansāb, XI, p.280; Tab., II, p.874 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Mu'jam, II, p.834; Kāmil, IV, p.309-Mir'āt, VI, fol.15b; Dhahabī, III, p.119 (quoting Tabarī); 'Ibar, III, p.95.

2. Ansāb, XI, pp.280-1; Tab., II, p.874 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Mu'jam, II, p.834; Kāmil, IV, pp.309-310; Mir'āt, VI, fol.15b; Dhahabī, III, 119 (quoting Tabarī); 'Ibar, III, p.95.

Thus, learning that al-Ḥajjāj had no intention of dropping his plan to reduce their pay, all the tribal chiefs and the most influential men (Wūjūh) of Basra made Ibn al-Jārūd their leader. They paid homage to him, pledging to support him in driving al-Ḥajjāj out of the country; they would then write to ‘Abd al-Malik asking him to appoint a new governor. If he refused, they would denounce him, although they did not expect him to refuse their request, since the Khārijites still formed a constant threat to the authority of the Umayyads in Iraq.<sup>1</sup> Most enthusiastic among the Wūjūh of Basra were the two Tamīmites, al-Hudhail ibn ‘Imrān al-Burjūmī and ‘Abdallāh ibn Ḥakīm al-Mujāshī‘ī.<sup>2</sup>

From this bai‘a and plan of action, many of the characteristics of the revolt began to emerge: the initial grievance over the threat to their pay acted as a focus for the Iraqi resentment of all the repressive measures initiated by al-Ḥajjāj since his appointment. This protest against the overactiveness of al-Ḥajjāj bore elements of Iraqi dislike of Syrian domination. One can also see traces of current social tensions in this revolt, for example, the ‘Aṣabiyya: the Rabī‘a and their allies al-Azd did not like to submit to the Mudarites represented by al-Ḥajjāj, while the Tamīmites

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1. Ansāb, XI, p.281; Kāmil, IV, p.309; Mir’āt, VI, fol.15b; ‘Ibar, III, p.95.

2. Arab, p.378; Kaḥḥāla, Mu‘jam Qabā’il al-‘Arab, I, p.71; III, p.1038; Caskel, op. cit., II, p.111.

showed reluctance in submitting to the Qaisite sway.<sup>1</sup>

Hearing of the plans of Ibn al-Jārūd and his followers, al-Ḥajjāj took precautionary measures. He separated the Akhmās of Baṣra from the Arbā' of Kūfa by putting a heavy guard on the roads between them. He also put a guard around the treasury (Bayt al-Māl).<sup>2</sup>

After secret preparations, the rebels came into the open (Rabī' II, 76). All the tribes, our authority says, rallied under the flag of Ibn al-Jārūd, while al-Ḥajjāj was supported only by his intimate friends (Khāṣṣatiḥī) and his family. By cutting the bridge between the two camps, Ibn al-Jārūd was able to seize al-Ḥajjāj's store of weapons which were stored on the other side of the river. However, al-Ḥajjāj did not surrender, and sent A'yun, one of his mawālī, to Ibn al-Jārūd ordering him to come before him, or else he would kill him with his family and all his supporters. But both the messenger and his master were humiliated, A'yun being turned away.<sup>3</sup>

Then Ibn al-Jārūd and his followers marched against al-Ḥajjāj, entered his "Fuṣṭāt" and plundered his property. Successful in this, they decided to put off dealing with al-Ḥajjāj until the next morning

1. Al-Ziherī, Naqā'id Jarīr wal-Farazdaq, p. 178.

2. Ansāb, XI, p. 281; Kāmil, IV, p. 310.

3. Ansāb, XI, pp. 282-3; Futūḥ, p. 281 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, p. 310; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 15b; Ibar, III, pp. 95-6.

for their intention was not to kill him, but to expel him from the country. For this reason, the Yemenites carried off his first wife, a daughter of al-Nu'mān ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī, while the Mudarites took with them Um Salama, his second wife.

Being left alone, al-Ḥajjāj became so desperate that he began to think of fleeing the country to save his life. But to his side began to drift the more hesitant of the rebels, those who had probably been forced to join in the rebellion in the first place. Al-Ghadrān ibn al-Qubāṭharī warned Ibn al-Jārūd not to leave al-Ḥajjāj until morning, pointing out how many had already gone over to his side, and how more might be expected to do so:<sup>1</sup> this warning was ignored. Thus the rebels lost an opportunity, which was to cost them their lives.

The jealousy of the clans made it possible for al-Ḥajjāj to play them off one against the other. It is said that while 'Abdallāh ibn al-Jārūd, al-Hudhail ibn 'Imrān al-Burjūmī and 'Abdallāh ibn Ḥakīm al-Mujāshī were discussing their affairs in a council, 'Abbād ibn al-Ḥusain al-Ḥabṭī came to join them, but they refused to admit him. As a result of this slight, 'Abbād and one hundred men went over to the side of al-Ḥajjāj. This so raised the latter's morale that he is said to have declared: "Now I do not care if nobody else comes to my side." 'Abbād's action precipitated other divisions in the

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp. 283-4; Kāmil, IV, pp. 310-11; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 15b; Ibar, III, pp. 96-7.

side of the rebels: it was followed by the desertion of Qutaiba ibn Muslim al-Bāhilī and about thirty men from the tribe of A'sur, to join al-Hajjāj. This was a reflection of 'Asabiyya, for being a Qaisite like al-Hajjāj, Qutaiba could not tolerate the latter being left alone with both his life and property exposed to danger. The same motive seems to have led both Sabra ibn 'Alī al-Kilābī and Sa'īd ibn Aslam ibn Zar'a al-Kilābī to go over to the side of al-Hajjāj. In addition, some of the Azd and Bakr changed to his side. Thus did al-Hajjāj succeed in playing the tribes against each other for his own interest.<sup>1</sup>

Feeling himself again strong enough to fight, al-Hajjāj joined the rebels in battle. During the fighting, Ibn al-Jārūd fell dead from a chance arrow. His followers were so discouraged that they could not carry on the battle and soon gave way, a fact which gave the victory to al-Hajjāj. The latter issued a general pardon (Amān), but which excluded the two chief instigators, al-Hudhail ibn 'Imrān al-Burjūmī and 'Abdallah ibn Ḥakīm al-Mujāshī'ī: both were killed. Their bodies, with that of Ibn al-Jārūd, were crucified, while their heads were sent to the camp of al-Muhallab in Rāmḥurmuz to discourage the Khārijites, who had banked on this revolt to

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp. 287-8; Kāmil, IV, pp. 311-12; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 15b-16b; Ibar, III, p. 97.

provide them with an opportunity to invade Basra.<sup>1</sup>

Settling the affairs in Rustuqābād, al-Ḥajjāj returned to Basra and wrote to the caliph informing him of the revolt and the steps he had taken to suppress it. ‘Abd al-Malik approved of his actions, and praised his loyalty to him.<sup>2</sup> Thus al-Ḥajjāj put down the first Iraqi revolt against himself and the Umayyad rule, and temporarily restored peace and discipline in the country.

### The Revolts of the Zanj

Having put down the revolt of ‘Abdallah ibn al-Jārūd, al-Ḥajjāj found himself confronted with another menace: the insurrection of the Zanj in Basra.<sup>3</sup> They took advantage of the unrest and disorder of the time to ravage and devastate the Euphrates area.

Unfortunately, apart from the brief account in Balādhurī, no other early source says a word of this revolt. Among the late sources, only Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn mention it, only to repeat the narrative of Balādhurī, thus adding nothing to our knowledge. What complicates the issue further is

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p.347; Muḥabbar, p.482; Ma‘ārif, pp.147-8; *Ansāb*, XI, pp.288-9; Ma‘ād fol.18b; *Nasab*, fol.235b; *Tab.*, II, pp.873-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Jalīs*, fol.44b; *Jamharat*, p.279; ‘Asākir, III, fol.180a; Mu‘jam, II, p.834; *Kāmil*, IV, p.312; *Mir’āt*, VI, fol.16a; *Dhahabī*, III, p.119 (quoting Ṭabarī); *Bidaya*, IX, p.10; *Ibar*, III, p.97.

2. *Ansāb*, XI, pp.293-4.

3. The Zanj were gangs of forced-labourers, mainly drawn from imported negro slaves from the East coast of Africa (hence their name), but . =



that Balādhurī does not state clearly the reason for this revolt, nor how it was organised. He mentions Ahl al-Kalā' and others whom he calls "Bīdān" (white people), as joining the revolt but gives no reason why they should do so. Thus, regrettably, one can only present a very incomplete account of the revolt.

Their first insurrection was during the governorship of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair in Baṣra. They mutinied and plundered the crops, but Muṣ'ab was too busy to take effective action against them. After Muṣ'ab's death, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Asīd as governor of Baṣra. The people complained to the new governor, urging him to put an end to the devastating activities of the slaves. Khālīd raised an army against them, but before he could reach them, the Zanj dispersed. However, some of them were seized and sent to the governor, who killed them and crucified their bodies.<sup>1</sup> It has been stated that this event was less a rebellion than a mutiny of gangs consisting of a small number of slaves living the life of robbers.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the severe punishment inflicted on them by Khālīd, the slaves revolted again during the governorship of al-Hajjāj, utilizing the confusion that resulted from Ibn al-Jarūd's rebellion. However, this time

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= including also peasants of the surrounding country. They were employed, under very poor working conditions, on the land in an attempt to make the nitrous lands of Shatt al-'Arab cultivable. E. I.<sup>1</sup> (Zandj). According to Jahiz, their tribes were Qunbula, Lanjawiyya, Naml and Kilāb. Bayān, III, p. 36; Pellat, Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Gahiz, pp. 41-2, Paris, 1953.

1. Ansāb, XI, pp. 303-4 (citing Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min); Kamil, IV, p. 314; Ibar, III, p. 98.  
 2. Noldeke, Sketches from Eastern History, p. 152, English translation by J. S. Black, London, 1892.

their movement reached a new phase. It was no longer a mutiny of robbers, but an organised revolt. In addition to the Zanj (black slaves), other elements rallied themselves under the banner of the leader of the revolt. According to Balādhurī,<sup>1</sup> 'Ahl al-Kala' and other white people joined them. By 'Ahl al-Kala' he meant the Zutt,<sup>2</sup> whom Madā'inī describes as those who were in the Ṭufūf area following the Kala'.<sup>3</sup> Some Persian mawālī possibly joined the revolt. The leader of the revolt, a man called Riyāḥ, was given the title of Shīr Zanjī,<sup>4</sup> a Persian name which means "the lion of the Zanj". Unfortunately we know nothing of the social or political aims of the Zanj, beyond the safe assumption that they sought to improve their conditions, and doubtless sought freedom; our ignorance of the details of the revolt is the more frustrating since we do know that for a short period its success was not inconsiderable.

Riyāḥ Shīr Zanjī made his authority felt all over the Euphrates region and Ubulā, a fact which led Kirrāz ibn Mālik al-Sulamī, the governor of al-Ḥajjāj in the region, to flee. Riyāḥ went so far as to call himself the

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1. Ansāb, XI, p.305.

2. People of Indian origin, mainly from the Sind area, who were wandering around the Persian Gulf. Futūḥ, pp.373 (citing Madā'inī), 375 (citing 'Awāna), 377; Al-Alī, al-Tanẓīmāt al-lītimā'iyya wal lqīṣādiyya fil Baṣra fil Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī, p.71; Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab, VII, p.308; Al-Zubaidī, Tāj al-'Arūs, V, p.146.

3. Futūḥ, p.373.

4. Ansāb, XI, pp.304, 305.

"Commander of the Faithful" (Amīr al-Mu'minīn),<sup>1</sup> an indication of his power, or perhaps of his ambitions.

Having suppressed the revolt of Ibn al-Jārūd, al-Ḥajjāj sent an army against Shīr Zanjī and his supporters, under the command of Ḥafs ibn Ziyād ibn 'Amr al-'Atkī, whose father Ziyād was the police officer of al-Ḥajjāj. But this army was routed, and its leader Ḥafs killed.<sup>2</sup> Thus was Shīr Zanjī able to defy the government's forces.

The news of this defeat incensed al-Ḥajjāj and he threatened the Basrans with a very severe punishment if they would not put an end to the insurrection of their slaves and sweepers (Kassāhīn). Therefore, men from every khums of Basra were recruited to re-inforce the regular Muqātila. Both were under the command of the defeated governor of Uballa, Kirrāz ibn Mālik al-Sulamī. After a severe struggle, the Zanj were forced to retreat to the desert of Dawraq. There a decisive battle took place in which the Zanj and their leader were massacred after putting up a brave fight, as indicated by the verses preserved in Balādhurī.<sup>3</sup> This revolt of the Zanj which al-Ḥajjāj succeeded in repressing, seems to have left no mark on the Islamic society of the time. However, it is almost certain that it laid the seed for the later revolt of the slaves in Basra in 255/868, which lasted

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1. Ansāb, XI, p.305 (citing Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min).
  2. Ansāb, XI, pp.304-5 (citing Rawḥ ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min); Kāmil, IV, p.315; Ibar, III, p.98.
  3. Ansāb, XI, pp.305-7 (citing Rawḥ ibn 'abd al-Mu'min); Kāmil, IV, p.315; Ibar, III, p.98.

for fourteen years and gave a severe shock to the whole fabric of the 'Abbāsīd empire.

#### The Insurrection of the Azd in 'Uman

Al-Ḥajjāj had to suppress another insurrection in 'Uman on the Gulf coast of Arabia, led by the two Adzite brothers, Sa'īd and Sulaimān the sons of 'Abbād ibn al-Julanda ibn al-Mustaqir. The 'Umanīs felt their independent position in the Muslim empire to be threatened by the energetic policies of al-Ḥajjāj, directed towards making the caliph's authority effective throughout the Empire. The civil war between 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair, together with the remoteness of 'Uman from the central government, encouraged them to seize this opportunity of re-asserting the independence they had maintained since the time of the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> Only by successive military campaigns was al-Ḥajjāj able to restore order there.

The imperial historical tradition does not usually concern itself with minor events in the outlying provinces, and this revolt is dealt with only summarily by the Arabic sources. Of the early sources, only

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1. Miles, The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf, p.34, London, 1966.

Khalīf ibn Khayyāt,<sup>1</sup> mentions it, briefly. The account of Ibn ‘Asākir,<sup>2</sup> of the later sources, is not only brief and confused, but is also unreliable, since he tells it more as a fable than as history. However, we are fully informed of the event by the eighteenth-century chronicler, ‘Umānī Sirhān ibn Sa‘īd al-Azkawī, in his annals entitled Kashf al-Ghumma,<sup>3</sup> probably based on oral tradition.

No date has been given for the earliest, unsuccessful, campaigns that al-Hajjāj sent against Sa‘īd and Sulaimān. However, one can conclude from the account of Ibn ‘Asākir<sup>4</sup> that it was before the revolt of ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ash‘ath. ‘Umān was not only an outlying province but also a mountainous region difficult of access: its western borders were the desert (the empty quarter) which could be used as an escape route in times of emergency. This inaccessibility doubtless accounts for the failure of al-Hajjāj's initial campaigns. Not before the rebellion of Ibn al-

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1. Tārīkh, I, p.319.

2. ‘Asākir, IV, pp.167-8.

3. MS. in the B.M. No. Or.8076. A part of this work has been translated into English by E. C. Ross, Calcutta, 1874. The same part has been edited by Hedwig Kelin, Hamburg, 1938. The Kashf al-Ghumma was also copied, for the most part literally, by another local historian called Salīl ibn Rāziq in his work "History of the Imāms and Seyyids of ‘Umān", translated and edited by G. Badger, printed for the Hakluyt Society, MDCCLXXI.

4. ‘Asākir, VI, p.168.

Ash'ath had been crushed did al-Hajjāj have a free hand to deal with 'Umān. Then he despatched a large army under the command of al-Qāsim ibn Shā'wa al-Muzanī, by sea to 'Umān; but the Azdite cavalry, led by Sa'īd and Sulaimān, routed this army and killed its leader al-Qāsim.<sup>1</sup>

When this alarming news reached al-Hajjāj, he was incensed and eager for revenge. He kept the Azdite chiefs in Baṣra under close observation to prevent them aiding the rebels, and raised an army of 40,000 from the Nizarites alone. The command of this army was given to Muḡā'a ibn Shā'wa al-Muzanī, a brother of al-Qāsim, killed in the last campaign. Half of this army took the land route, while the other half was sent by sea. Sulaimān and his Azdite cavalry were able to defeat the land division, who reached 'Umān earlier. Meanwhile, Muḡā'a and the sea army marched on Sa'īd after being informed that he had been left with a small body while his brother, with the rest of their supporters, was fighting the army that had come by land. Realizing that with such a small number of men he could not withstand the large army of Muḡā'a, Sa'īd retreated by night and took refuge in the mountains; but he was pursued and besieged.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Azkawī, fol. 326b; English translation, p. 10; Klein, op. cit., pp. 11-12; Saḡīl ibn Rāziq, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Miles, op. cit., p. 50.
  2. Azkawī, fol. 327a; English translation, pp. 10-11; Klein, op. cit., pp. 12-14; Saḡīl ibn Rāziq, op. cit., pp. 2-4; Miles, op. cit., p. 52.

When he heard of this, Sulaimān came back to meet Muja'a in battle, to release his brother. Before this, he had set fire to fifty of Muja'a's ships, while the rest of the fleet managed to escape to sea. Finding himself unable to cope with Sulaimān, Muja'a managed to escape with his followers to a place called Jalfār, from where he wrote to al-Hajjāj asking for re-inforcements. The latter sent him five thousand Syrians under 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Sulaimān. Perhaps owing to a decrease in their local support, Sa'id and Sulaimān perceived that they could resist no longer, especially when they heard of these new re-inforcements. They fled with their families and property to the land of the Zanj (East African Coast),<sup>1</sup> where they remained to their deaths.

Following their flight, Muja'a and 'Abd al-Rahmān entered 'Uman where they punished the inhabitants for their support of the rebels. Then al-Hajjāj appointed al-Khayār ibn Sabra al-Mujāshī'i, governor of 'Uman, who remained there until the death of al-Hajjāj, to face no more trouble from the Azd.

#### The Revolt of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath

Far more dangerous than any of the other revolts was the revolt of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, which shook the very foundations of the Umayyad rule.

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1. Azkawī, fols. 327a-327b; English translation, p.11; Klein, op. cit., p.14; Sa'il ibn Rāziq, op. cit., pp.4-5; E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Azd); Miles, op. cit., p.53.

In the year 78/697, after the recovery of Iraq from the Khārijī threat, Khurāsān and Sistān were added to the governorship of al-Hajjāj.<sup>1</sup> He appointed to govern Khurāsān, al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, while to Ṣistān he sent 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra al-Thaqafī. At that time, the first task of a governor of an outlying province was the "Ghazū", to subject the bordering lands. The undertaking of the "Ghazū" both provided extra revenue for the central government, and was an opportunity to train and discipline the troops. For these reasons, 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra undertook a campaign in 79/698 against the King of Kābul and Zābul, the Zunbīl<sup>2</sup> who had been refusing to pay tribute to al-Hajjāj. With the troops of Basra under his command, and Shuraiḥ ibn Hānī al-Hārithī at the head of the Kūfan troops, Ibn Abī Bakra advanced against the Zunbīl. The latter enticed him far into the country, drawing him into the difficult passes of Kābulstān and then cut him off in the rear. It was only by paying the Zunbīl 500,000 or 700,000 dirhams, by leaving some of his followers, including three of his sons, as hostages, and by promising not to invade his territory as

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.297; Ansāb, XI, p.311 (citing al-Haytham); Buldān, p.81; Tab., II, p.1033 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); 'Asākir, III, p.129; Kāmil, IV, p.362; Mir'āt, VI, fo .29a; Bidāya, IX, p.21; Ibar, III, p.103.
  2. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, pp.231-2; E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash'ath); Bosworth, Sistān under the Arabs from the Islamic Conquests to the Rise of the Ṣaffarīds, pp.34-6, Rome, 1968. Mas'ūdī, incorrectly, however, makes him one of the Indian Kings. Murūj, V, p.302.



long as he was governor, that Ibn Abī Bakra was able to retreat. Shuraih did not approve of this settlement, finding it humiliating to offer such terms to the enemy. He warned Ibn Abī Bakra that any sum he paid to the Zunbīl would be deducted by al-Hajjāj from the 'Aṭā' of the troops. A group of the army under Shuraih then took the field against the Zunbīl only to suffer heavy losses in lives and Shuraih himself was killed.<sup>1</sup> 'Ubaidallah, however, had made peace with the Zunbīl after explaining the resistance of Shuraih as disobedience to his orders. The news of the heavy losses and humiliating defeat infuriated al-Hajjāj, who wrote to the caliph asking his permission to take vengeance on the Zunbīl for the Muslims.<sup>2</sup>

Receiving the permission of the caliph for his plan, al-Hajjāj raised an army from Basra and Kūfa, so numerous and magnificently equipped that it was called the "Peacock army". (Jaysh al-Ṭawāwīs).<sup>3</sup> The command of this army was given by al-Hajjāj to 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.275; Futūḥ, p.399; Ansāb, pp.311-7 (citing Madā'īnī); Tab., II, pp.1036-38 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, pp.363-4; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 31a-31b (citing Madā'īnī); Dhahabī, III, p.126 (quoting Khalīfa); concerning these heavy losses see also the Dīwān of A'shā. Hamdān, pp.317-8.
  2. Ansāb, XI, p.318 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and 'Awāna); Tab., II, pp.1038 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 1042-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, pp.364, 365.
  3. Ansāb, XI, pp.319-20 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and 'Awāna); Tab., II, p.1046; Tanbīh, p.314; Kāmil, IV, p.367; Mir'āt, VI, fol.31b.

al-Ash‘ath al-Kindī, a descendent of the pre-Islamic Kings of Kinda.

Conflicting reports are to be found in the sources as to where ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Ash‘ath was at the time of his appointment. According to Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>1</sup> he was sent to Kirmān to suppress a mutiny of Himyān ibn ‘Adī al-Sadūsī.<sup>2</sup> Another account in Ṭabarī and Ghurar al-Siyar<sup>3</sup> suggests that he was in Kūfa and accompanied the "Peacock army" from there. A third account says that he was fighting the Khārijites.<sup>4</sup> Finally, there is the account of Ibn A‘tham<sup>5</sup> which says that Ibn al-Ash‘ath was at the head of the "Peacock army" when it left Kūfa, and on the march to Sīstān, he put down the mutiny of Himyān ibn ‘Adī al-Sadūsī in Kirmān: this last account seems the most convincing way of reconciling the other accounts.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp.320-1 (citing Abū ‘Ubaida); Ṭab., II, p.1046; Kāmil, IV, pp.366-7; Bidāya, IX, p.32; Ibar, III, p.105.

2. Himyān ibn ‘Adī al-Sadūsī was originally sent there to help the governor of Sīstān and of Sind, if necessary.

3. Ṭab., II, p.1044; Ghurar, fol. 53.

4. Ansāb, XI, pp.320 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and ‘Awāna), 318.

5. Kūfī, II, fol. 101a.

6. M<sup>me</sup> L. Veccia Vaglieri prefers the first account simply because it is a detailed one. This is perhaps because she had no access to Ibn A‘tham's work (al-Futūḥ). E.I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash‘ath).

Our main source is Ṭabarī, who follows almost exclusively the narrative of Abū Mikhnaḥ, taken from his two books, Kitāb Dair al-Jamājim and Khal' 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Ash'ath and Kitāb Ḥadīth yā Ḥimyarā wa Maqtal' Ibn al-Ash'ath.<sup>1</sup> Abū Mikhnaḥ was a Kūfite who died in 157 A.H., and thus was very nearly a contemporary of the revolt. The next of our sources is Balādhurī, who mainly reports the narrative of Mada'inī, which is as detailed as that of Abū Mikhnaḥ, but which suffers from some gaps. However, Ibn A'tham follows a quite different account which lacks both chronology and consistency, but which agrees almost entirely with the narrative of Ghurār al-Siyar in its main outline. Dinawarī, however, as shown by M<sup>me</sup> L. Veccia Vaglieri,<sup>2</sup> portrays the revolt as being the result of a religious dispute started by propaganda from Ibn al-Ash'ath, declaring al-Ḥajjāj to be impious; this so stirred the religious men that they started the revolt. Apart from Ibn Kathīr, the late sources add no new information; they re-edit the narratives of the early sources. As for Ibn Kathīr, he is the only one among our authorities to report the narrative of Wāqidī which gives fresh information here and there. Despite the fact that Wāqidī's account confuses the battles of Dair al-Jamājim and Maskin with each other, yet is worthy of consideration.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, p. 93.

2. op. cit.

3. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Dayr al-Djamājim).

There are two varying chronologies of the revolt. One gives the year 81 as the beginning of the revolt, the year 82 for the battles of Baṣra, Kūfa and Maskin, and the year 83 for the battles of Sistān and Khurāsān. The other puts the dates a year later, i.e. 82, 83, 84, respectively. Both chronologies are uncertain of the year of Ibn al-Ash‘ath's death, except that it was either in 84 or 85. Wellhausen<sup>1</sup> studied this question thoroughly and decided, I think justly, in favour of the first one.<sup>2</sup> In order not to repeat the same argument, as M<sup>me</sup> Veccia Vaglieri has done,<sup>3</sup> I shall follow the same chronology as followed by Wellhausen.

In the year 80/699, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ash‘ath and his army arrived in Sistān, where he made a speech inviting the muqātila there to join his army, which they did.<sup>4</sup> An army from Ṭabaristān under his brothers al-Qāsim and al-Ṣabbāḥ is also said to have joined him. Hearing of this powerful army sent against him, the Zunbīl wrote to Ibn al-Ash‘ath apologising for the fate of the army of Ibn Abī Bakra, and offering him a plan for a peaceful

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1. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, pp.241-2.
  2. The coins struck in Fārs in the year 81 A.H. support the chronology which regards the beginning of the revolt as 81 A.H. Walker, A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins, pp. IXii-IXiv, 117; Bosworth, op. cit., p.61. However, another piece of numismatic evidence favours the second chronology. Miles, Some New Light on the History of Kirman, pp.96-8, WOL, 1959.
  3. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash‘ath).
  4. Ansāb, XI, pp.321 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 322-3 (citing Madā‘inī); Tab., II, pp.1044-5 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.366; Mir‘āt, VI, fol.31b; Ibar, III, p.105.

settlement. Ibn al-Ash'ath paid no heed to this and marched against the Zunbīl.<sup>1</sup> Hoping that he could trap him in the same way as he had Ibn Abī Bakra, the Zunbīl began to entice Ibn al-Ash'ath far into the country by withdrawing in front of him. But Ibn al-Ash'ath was aware of this strategy and was too cautious to be so trapped. He established garrisons in every city or fortress he occupied, and assured his lines of communications by linking these places by an organised postal service. After mastering a considerable part of the country and securing valuable spoils, Ibn al-Ash'ath returned to Bust, postponing the military operations until the next spring (81/700). He thought it wiser to let the soldiers get accustomed to the mountainous area and its severe winter.<sup>2</sup> He wrote to al-Hajjāj informing him of his success and of the strategy he was employing. But al-Hajjāj, quick and impatient as he was, wrote to him a series of humiliating and arrogant letters ordering him to advance without delay far into the enemy's territory and to fight him to the death; if he refused, he would give the command to Ibn al-Ash'ath's brother, and reduce him to the rank of a simple

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp. 321-2 (citing Abū Mikhnaf), 322-3 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p. 1045 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 101b; Kāmil, IV, p. 366; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 31b; Bidayā, IX, p. 32; Ibar, III, p. 105.
  2. Ansāb, XI? p. 223 (citing Madā'inī); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 331; Tab., II, pp. 1045-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, pp. 373-1; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 31b-32a; Bidayā, IX, pp. 32, 35; Ibar, p. 105.

soldier to serve beneath him.<sup>1</sup>

Deeply offended by al-Ḥajjāj's aggressive letters, which depicted him as an inefficient coward, Ibn al-Ash'ath decided to avenge himself. He ordered a meeting of the chiefs among his followers, during which he told them of the orders of al-Ḥajjāj and revealed his intention to defy him. He pointed out that his own strategy had been approved by all the experienced men among them, and said that he was more concerned for their welfare than al-Ḥajjāj. Finally, he told them, "I am only one of you: if you want to march, I shall march; if you refuse, I shall refuse." They all shouted, "We will not obey the enemy of God, al-Ḥajjāj."<sup>2</sup> Another version is given by Balādhurī, Ibn A'tham and the author of Ghurār al-Siyar,<sup>3</sup> who say that Ibn al-Ash'ath, before holding the meeting, fabricated a letter in which he represented al-Ḥajjāj as ordering him to depose some chiefs of their posts and kill others, in an attempt to aggravate their hatred and discontent. In fact, little aggravation was needed: the harsh policies of al-Ḥajjāj at home, and the prolonged wars in distant lands were enough to lead the

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp. 323-4 (citing Madā'inī); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 331; Tab., II, pp. 1052-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Tanbīh, p. 314; Bad', VI, p. 35; Kāmil, IV, p. 317; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 32a, 37a-37b; Dhahabī, III, p. 128; Bidāya, IX, p. 35; lbar, III, p. 106; Perier, Vie d'al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, p. 162, Paris, 1904.
  2. Ansāb, XI, pp. 324-5 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, pp. 1053-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 101b-102a; Ghurār, fol. 53; Kāmil, IV, p. 371; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 37b; Dhahabī, III, p. 128; Bidāya, IX, p. 35; lbar, III, p. 106.
  3. Ansāb, XI, p. 325 (citing Madā'inī); Kūfī, II, fol. 101b; Ghurār, fol. 53.

Iraqis to give such a reply to Ibn al-Ash'ath. He need do no more than remind them of their grievances to get their support. Abū al-Ṭufail 'Āmir ibn Wāḥila al-Kinānī was the first to announce the deposition, (Khal') of al-Ḥajjāj; and 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Shbath ibn Rab'ī al-Tamīmī invited the troops to march on Iraq to expel the hated governor. They swore an oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Ash'ath.<sup>1</sup> It is highly significant that both Abū al-Ṭufail and 'Abd al-Mu'min were not only Kūfans, but also former sincere adherents of al-Mukhtār.<sup>2</sup> Thus the first men to declare publicly the revolt were from Kūfa with Shī'ite inclinations.

In order to be free to carry out this scheme, Ibn al-Ash'ath made peace with the Zunbīl on the following terms: if Ibn al-Ash'ath was victorious, he would grant the Zunbīl an exemption from paying the tribute as long as he was in power; if he were defeated, the Zunbīl would give him refuge.<sup>3</sup> It was advantageous for the Zunbīl to accept this offer, for even in the case of Ibn al-Ash'ath's defeat, this war with al-Ḥajjāj would not only leave the Zunbīl unmolested for a while, but would also weaken al-Ḥajjāj and the government of al-Iraq. Before marching on Iraq, Ibn al-Ash'ath also appointed governors for the important towns of Sīstān,

1. Ansāb, XI, pp.325-6 (citing Madā' inī); Ṭab., II, pp.1054-5 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, pp.371-2; Mir'āt, VI, fol.37b; Dhahabī, III, pp.128-9; Bidāya, IX, pp.35-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Ṭabarī, III, p.106. Professor Bosworth attributes the speech given by 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Shbath ibn Rab'ī al-Tamīmī to Ibn al-Ash'ath. Perhaps the similarity of the two names has caused this confusion. See Sīstān under the Arabs From the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Ṣaffarīds, p.59.
2. Ansāb, fol.261a; Ṭab., II, pp.654, 694 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).
3. Ansāb, XI, p.327; Futūḥ, p.400; Ya'qūbī, II, p.332; Ṭab., II, p.1055 =

such as Bust and Zaranj. (81/700).

On the march to Iraq, the poet A' shā Hamdān was with Ibn al-Ash' ath, reciting verses celebrating the occasion.<sup>1</sup> These verses are important in that they reveal a religious conviction behind the revolt, for al-Ḥajjāj is depicted as of bad faith. Moreover, the verses show clearly that both the Ma'adites and the Yemenites (Hamdān, Madhhiḡ and Qaḥṭān) allied themselves against al-Ḥajjāj and his tribe, Thaqīf. This is supported by evidence in al-Farazdaq's Dīwān<sup>2</sup> and Balādhurī. M<sup>me</sup> Veccia Vaglieri in writing, "Ibn al-Ash' ath had put himself at the head of the Qaḥṭānis and Hamdānis against the Ma'adis and the Thaqafis"<sup>3</sup> has misunderstood these verses of al-A' shā. In fact, the revolt of Ibn al-Ash' ath was one of the rare occasions where we find the Northern and Southern 'Arabs standing together against a common foe. It was the first time that the Mudarites found it not unacceptable to follow a Yemenite leader, and in which their 'Aṣabiyya to their country, Iraq, was stronger than their tribal loyalties.

When Ibn al-Ash' ath and his rebel army reached Fārs, they realised that the deposition of al-Ḥajjāj could not be separated from a revolt against 'Abd al-Malik. Consequently, the rebels renounced the latter and paid

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" (citing Abū Mikhnaḡ); Kāmil, IV, p.372; Mir' āt, VI, fol.37b; Bidāya, IX, p.36; Ibar, III, p.107.

1. A' shā Hamdān, Dīwān, p.342; Ṭab., II, p.1056; Agh., V, p.159 (citing Mubarrad); Mir' āt, VI, fol.37b; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.208.
2. Farazdaq, Dīwān, I, pp.239-41; Ansāb, XI, p.334.
3. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash' ath). However, Balādhurī reports, on doubtful evidence, that al-Ḥajjāj killed some Yemenite Syrians who joined Ibn al-Ash' ath under the impetus of 'Aṣabiyya. Ansāb, fol.27b.



homage to Ibn al-Ash'ath, thus leading the revolt into a new phase. They paid homage to Ibn al-Ash'ath in accordance with the "Book of God, the Sunna of the Prophet, the deposition of the Imāms. of error (A'immat al Dalālat), and the Jihād against al-Muḥillīn".<sup>1</sup> This Bai'a will be discussed later.

Ibn al-Ash'ath is said to have written to al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra inviting him to join the revolt, but he refused and warned Ibn al-Ash'ath not to spill the blood of the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> It is also said that al-Muhallab wrote to al-Ḥajjāj advising him not to fight the Iraqis before they reached their home, for as soon as they could be with their wives and children again, they would lose interest in revolt. Al-Ḥajjāj, however, did not follow this advice.<sup>3</sup>

When the news of the homage paid to Ibn al-Ash'ath reached al-Ḥajjāj, he went to Baṣra and sent an urgent letter to the caliph asking for Syrian forces; the caliph, equally alarmed by the news,<sup>4</sup> sent him one

1. Ansāb, XI, p.334; Tab., II, pp.1057-8 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Tanbīh, p.314; Murūj, V, pp.302-3; Kāmil, IV, p.373; Mir'āt, VI, fol.37b; Bidāya, IX, p.36; Ibar, III, p.107.
2. Ansāb, XI, p.329 (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 335-6; Tab., II, pp.1058-9; Kāfī, II, fol.102a; Mir'āt, VI, fol.38a; Bidāya, IX, p.36.
3. Ansāb, XI, p.336; Tab., II, p.1059; Kāmil, IV, p.373; Mir'āt, VI, fol.38a; Bidāya, IX, p.36; Ibar, III, p.107.
4. On this occasion 'Abd al-Malik is said to have sought the advice of Khālīd ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya, who told him that he should not worry since the threat had come from Sistān and not from Khurāsān. Ansāb, XI, p.337; Tab., II, p.1059; Kāmil, IV, p.373; Mir'āt, VI, fol.38a; Bidāya, IX, p.36. Professor Bosworth refers to this account and regards =

detachment after the other continually.

It would appear that Ibn al-Ash'ath spent a considerable time in Fārs, for he minted his own dirhams.<sup>1</sup> The first encounter between his army and al-Ḥajjāj took place on the 10th Dhul Ḥajja, 81/25th January, 701,<sup>2</sup> near Tustar. Al-Ḥajjāj's forces were defeated, and consequently al-Ḥajjāj withdrew to Baṣra; but finding no support there, he left and established himself in al-Zāwiya. During this time, they were hard-pressed by the lack of provisions, which led al-Ḥajjāj to confiscate the food supplies of the merchants.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, Ibn al-Ash'ath entered Baṣra unchecked, and was

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= it as evidence of a "relative decline, at this time, in terms of military resources and man power, of Sīstān as compared with Khurāsān." Sīstān Under the Arabs From the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Ṣaffarīds, p.61. However, Ibn A'tham reports this event and says that 'Abd al-Malik sought Khālīd's advice, because the latter was well informed of the "days of the people" and the "books of dissention" (عِلَلُ بَيَانِ اَنْتِصَارِ رُفَايِكَةِ الْفِتَنِ). Ibn A'tham also says that 'Abd al-Malik asked Khālīd whether it was the time when "the Black Banners" (الرَّيَاةُ الْوَدُودُ) would appear as a sign of the cessation of "Our Mulk". Khālīd told him not to worry unless the danger came from the "Bottom of Merv". Kūfī, II, fol.104b. Very similar to this is the account of the author of Ghurār al-Siyar, fol.55. The anticipatory character of this account leads us to question its authenticity.

1. Walker, op. cit., pp. IXiii-IXiv; Bosworth, op. cit., p.61.
2. Sa'd, VII, ii, p.177 (citing al-Haytham); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, pp.362-3 (citing Madā'inī); Ansāb, XI, p.341 (citing al-Haytham); Ya'qūbī, II, p.332; Tab., II, pp.1060-1 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols. 105a;105b; Ghurār, fols.55-6; Tānbīh, pp.314-5; Bad', VI, p.36; Kāmil, IV, p.374; Mīr'at, VI, fol.38a; Dhahabī, III, pp.226-7; Bidāya, IX, pp.36-7; Ibar, III, p.107.
3. Ansāb, XI, pp.340-1; Kūfī, II, fol.106a.

met with a very enthusiastic reception, especially by the Qurra' <sup>1</sup> and elderly men. He dug a trench and set up fortifications. After about a month of skirmishes, a battle was joined on 28th Muḥarram, 82/early March 701, in which many Qurra' were killed. Thanks to the perseverance of al-Ḥajjāj and the skill of his Syrian leader, Sufyān, Ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbī, he eventually was victorious. <sup>2</sup>

Following this defeat in al-Zāwiya, Ibn al-Ash'ath left Baṣra and went to Kūfa. With him were his Kūfan soldiers, as well as some cavalry from Baṣra. In Baṣra, he left 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abbās al-Ḥashimī al-Qurashī, who continued the struggle only for a short while, because the majority of the Baṣrans accepted the Amān of al-Ḥajjāj and opened the

1. Literally, the readers of the Qur'ān. Their first appearance is said to have been at the time of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. They received high payments, regardless of their tribe or their participation in the early conquests. They also gained the financial support of some wealthy men. Thus they held a high status, both religiously and materially. Their number increased steadily and many Ashrāf as well as mawālī joined them. They played a distinctive role in the battle of Siffin; and ten thousand mawālī from among them are said to have joined the Kharijites. Hilya, V, p.61; Al-'Alī, Al-Tanzimāt al-Ijtima' iyya wal Iqtisadiyya fil Baṣra fil Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī, pp.44-6.
2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I pp.364 (citing Madā'inī and Abu'l Yaḥyā), 368-70 (citing Abū 'Ubaida); Ma'ārif, p.156; Ansāb, XI, pp.341-8; Tab., II, pp.1063-66 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols. 106a-106b; Ghurur, fols.56-8; Tanbih, pp.314-5; Mu'jam, II, p.911; Kāmil, IV, pp.374-5; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 38a-40a; Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt, XVI, fols.228b-229a; Bidāya, IX, pp.37-9; Wāqidī here confuses this battle with that of Dair al-Jamā'im; Ibar, III, p.107.

way for him through the city. As a result, 'Abd al-Rahmān with a small group of followers left Basra and joined their leader in Kūfa.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Ash'ath probably chose Kūfa for his next centre because it was his home city, where he could count on the support of his tribe and friends.

However, on his arrival there, he found himself obliged to drive out Maṭar Ibn Nājiya al-Tamīmī, who had taken hold of the Qasr (the government centre) there, after turning out the Syrian garrison left by al-Hajjāj. Maṭar was an officer of al-Hajjāj in al-Mada'in, who took advantage of the troubled situation to seize Kūfa. With the help of Hamdān, kinsmen of Ibn al-Ash'ath, the latter was able to force Maṭar to submit.<sup>2</sup>

The Kūfans received Ibn al-Ash'ath very warmly, and his army was re-inforced by many elements who were discontented with the Umayyads. Meanwhile, al-Hajjāj left Basra to his cousin Ayyūb ibn Abi'l-Hakam ibn 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī, and made his way through the desert to Kūfa. Being harrassed on route by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abbās al-Hāshimī with a

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1. Hadhif, p.23; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.365; Ansāb, XI, pp.248-9, 355 (citing al-Haytham); Ya'qubī, II, p.332; Nasab, fol. 11a; Ṭab., II, p.1066 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol.106b; Ghurār, fols.57-8; Tanbīh, p.315; Bakrī, II, p.373; Kāmil, IV, p.375; Mir'āt, VI, fol.40a; Al-Ṣafadī, op. cit., XVI, fol.299a; Bidāya, IX, p.40; 'Ibar, III, p.108.
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.365 (citing Madā'inī); Ansāb, XI, pp.353-5, 355 (citing al-Haytham), 356-7 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Nasab, fol.17a; Ṭab., II, pp.1069-71 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol.106b; Jamharat, p.215; Kāmil, IV, p.376; Mir'āt, VI, fol.40a; Bidāya, IX, p.40 (citing Wāqidī); 'Ibar, III, p.108.

detachment of cavalry, al-Ḥajjāj was forced to pitch his camp in Dair Qarra; nevertheless, this position facilitated easy communication with Syria, from where he received constant re-inforcements. Ibn al-Ash‘ath left Kūfa with his enormous army <sup>1</sup> and made his camp in Dair al-Jamājim (Rabī‘ I, 82/April, 701). Both sides dug trenches and for months engaged in indecisive encounters. <sup>2</sup> The more prolonged the war between al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn al-Ash‘ath, the more the caliph, ‘Abd al-Malik, became alarmed. However, on the advice of some Quraishite and Syrian dignitaries, he decided to negotiate with the rebels in an attempt to find a peaceful settlement. He therefore sent another Syrian army under the command of his brother Muḥammad and his son ‘Abdallah, charging them to propose terms to the Iraqis if they would submit. If they refused, the army and its two leaders were to join al-Ḥajjāj, and be under his command. These were the terms to be offered to the Iraqis: al-Ḥajjāj was to be removed from Iraq, their pay (‘Aṭā’) was to be raised to be equal to that of the Syrians, and Ibn al-Ash‘ath was offered the governorship of any town in Iraq he wished for life. <sup>3</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj tried to dissuade the caliph from offering such terms but

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1. His army is said to have numbered 200,000 men, half of them on the regular pay roll, while the other half were mawālī. *Tab.*, II, p. 1072 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kāmil*, IV, p. 377; *Mir’āt*, VI, fol. 40a.
  2. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 57; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p. 356; *Ansāb*, fol. 15b; Yā‘qūbī, II, II, p. 332; *Tab.*, II, pp. 1071-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kūfī*, II, fol. 107a; *Ghurār*, fol. 58; *Tanbīh*, p. 315; *Bakrī*, II, p. 573; *Mu‘jam*, II, p. 685; *Kāmil*, IV, p. 377; *Mir’āt*, VI, fol. 40a; *Bidāya*, IX, p. 40 (citing Wāqidī); *Ibar*, III, p. 108.
  3. *Ansāb*, fol. 16a; *Tab.*, II, p. 1083 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kūfī*, II, fols. 107a-107b; *Ghurār*, fol. 58, here, as in *Kūfī*, no mention of a pay rise is given; *Kāmil*, IV, p. 377; *Mir’āt*, VI, fol. 40a; *Bidāya*, IX, p. 41 (citing Wāqidī); *Ibar*, III, p. 108.

in vain.

In spite of Ibn al-Ash'ath's attempts to persuade the rebels to accept these terms, the Iraqis, hot-headed by temperament, refused and once more denounced the 'bai'a' of 'Abd al-Malik. They were banking on the fact that al-Hajjāj and his Syrian troops were suffering from a lack of provisions, but their calculations were mistaken. The Syrians, despite their difficulties, stood firm and as a result, the Iraqis lost their chance to rid themselves of al-Hajjāj and to gain a pay increase.

Consequently, the fighting was resumed and it lasted for one hundred days. The most enthusiastic of Ibn al-Ash'ath's followers were the Qurra' in the fighting against al-Hajjāj; they placed themselves as a separate squadron under Jabala ibn Zahr ibn Qais al-Ju'fi, and showed a remarkable bravery. But their enthusiasm was lost after the death of their leader and they soon dispersed. On Jumāda II, 82/July 701, the decisive battle of Dair al-Jamā'im was joined. At first, the Iraqis gained the upper hand but when al-Abrad ibn Qarra al-Tamīmī, on the right wing of Ibn al-Ash'ath's army, was unable to withstand the attack of the Syrian Sufyān, ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbī, and therefore gave way, the Iraqis interpreted this as treason, and were so discouraged that they fled. In vain Ibn al-Ash'ath tried to rally them again. Their flight was facilitated by the Aman issued by al-Hajjāj. Ibn al-Ash'ath himself was forced to flee with some of his supporters. He first entered Kūfa, where he took leave of his family, and

then went in the direction of Baṣra. Meanwhile, al-Ḥajjāj entered Kūfa, where he executed a large number of the captured rebels.<sup>1</sup>

However, the defeat of Ibn al-Ash'ath was not yet completed. Some of his followers with Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ took possession of al-Madā'in. But they soon left their position on hearing that al-Ḥajjāj was advancing against them, and joined their leader in Maskin.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, 'Ubaidallah ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Samura al-Qurashī succeeded in seizing Baṣra for Ibn al-Ash'ath.<sup>3</sup> But the latter could not stay long enough in the city and returned to Maskin on the Dujail. Al-Ḥajjāj spent a month in Kūfa, after which he went in pursuit of Ibn al-Ash'ath and his followers. They met in Maskin where a long and severe struggle took place. Finally, in Sha'bān 82/September 701, Ibn al-Ash'ath was defeated decisively and his followers fled across the

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1. Sa'd, VII, ii, p. 177 (citing al-Haytham); Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p. 368; *Ansāb*, fols. 17a-18b (citing Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī); *Tab.*, II, pp. 1086-95 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kūfī*, II, fols. 107b-108b; *Ghurār*, fols. 59-60; *Tanbīh*, p. 315; *Murūj*, V, p. 304; *Bad'*, VI, p. 36; *Bakrī*, II, pp. 573, 574; 593; *Mu'jam*, II, pp. 652, 685; *Kāmil*, IV, pp. 378-9, 383-6; *Mir'āt*, VI, fols. 40a-40b, 42b-43b (citing al-Haytham), 43b; *Dhahabī*, III, pp. 227-8, 229; *Bidāya*, IX, pp. 41-2 (citing Wāqidī), 47-8; 'Ibar, III, pp. 109-10; *Shadharāt*, I, I, p. 92. It is said that the Qaisites fought very courageously in the battle against Ibn al-Ash'ath. *Jarīr*, *Dīwān*, p. 264; *Naqā'id*, I, p. 410.
  2. *Ansāb*, fol. 18a; *Tab.*, II, p. 1098-9 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Kūfī*, II, fol. 109b; *Ghurār*, fol. 60; *Kāmil*, IV, p. 386; 'Ibar, III, p. 110.
  3. *Nasab*, fol. 18b; *Tab.*, II, pp. 1098-9 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); *Jamharat*, p. 67; *Kāmil*, IV, p. 386; 'Ibar, III, p. 110.

Dujail river, where many of them were drowned.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Ash'ath and those who survived the battle of Maskin retreated towards Sistān. But a detachment of Syrians under 'Umāra ibn Tamīm al-Lakhamī, accompanied by al-Hajjāj's son, was sent to pursue them. They reached Ibn al-Ash'ath at Sūs, where the rebels were defeated and fled to Sābūr. Here Ibn al-Ash'ath was joined by the Kurds and with their help was able to defeat the Syrians when they met in battle.<sup>2</sup> However, Ibn al-Ash'ath continued his march until he reached Kirmān, and then went on to Sistān. But his governor of Zaranj, a Tamīmīte called 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir al-Ba'ār, refused to let him enter the city; while his governor of Bust, 'Iyād ibn Himyān al-Sadūsī, took him prisoner, hoping thus to get the favour of al-Hajjāj. However, the Zunbīl forced the governor of Bust to free Ibn al-Ash'ath and took the latter with him to

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p.368; *Ansāb*, fol.18a; Ya'qūbī, II, pp.332-3; *Tab.*, II, pp.1099-1101 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols. 109b-110a; *Ghurur*, fol.61; both the author of this work and Kūfī give the name al-Maftih instead of Maskin; *Tanbīh*, p.315; *Kāmil*, IV, pp.386-7; *Mir'āt*, VI, fol.43 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); 'Ibar, III, pp.110-11. The account found in *Tab.*, II, pp.1123-5, which makes the defeat of Ibn al-Ash'ath a result of the guidance given by a shepherd to the troops of al-Hajjāj, seems unconvincing; for it is neither reported with a chain of authority nor has it any support in other early sources. It is probably, therefore, an anti-Syrian tradition trying to find justification for the defeat of the Iraqis.
  2. *Ansāb*, fol.18a; *Ma'ad*, fols.111a-111b; *Ghurur*, fols.62-3; *Kāmil*, IV, p.387; *Mir'āt*, VI, fol.43b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), 'Ibar, III, p.111.



Kābul,<sup>1</sup> and showed him great honour. This treatment Ibn al-Ash‘ath received from the Zunbīl was due to the agreement between the two some time earlier.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, however, ‘Ubaidallah ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Samura al-Qurashī and ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abbās al-Hāshimī, with followers numbering 60,000 Iraqi fugitives, gathered in Sistān. They invited Ibn al-Ash‘ath to resume the struggle and he accepted. First they marched against Zaranj, where they took the city and punished the unfaithful governor, ‘Abdallah ibn ‘Āmir al-Ba‘ār. At this time, ‘Umāra ibn Tamīm and the Syrian army were approaching, and being afraid of the Syrians, Ibn al-Ash‘ath's followers forced their leader to enter Khurāsān, where Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab was governor. They chose Khurāsān thinking that as it was a large country, they would either not be attacked at all, or else would be able to find some place of refuge there where they could maintain themselves until the deaths of al-Hajjāj and ‘Abd al-Malik. They also hoped to get the support of the people of Khurāsān. In vain did Ibn al-Ash‘ath try to convince them that entering Khurāsān would only lead them into the necessity of fighting both Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab and the Syrians. However, at this

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1. Ansāb, fols. 18a-18b; Tab., II, pp. 1101-2 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāfi, II, fols. 111b-112a; Ghurār, fol. 63; Kāmil, IV, p. 388; Mir‘āt, VI, fol. 43b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Bidāya, IX, p. 48 (citing Wāqidī); ‘Ibar, III, pp. 111-112.

2. See p. 274.

point, 'Ubaidallah ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Samura, with two thousand men, deserted and began to urge the others to do likewise. No reason has been given for this move, but presumably Ibn Samura realised that Ibn al-Ash'ath had lost control over his followers and so was no longer fit to lead. This had the result of deciding Ibn al-Ash'ath to rely on the Iraqis no more, because of their disunity and fickleness, and he made his way back to the Zunbīl with a remnant of supporters. The rest paid homage to 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī and entered Herāt, killing al-Ruqād al-Azdī, an official of Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab. Therefore, Yazīd was forced to retaliate and sent an army under his brother al-Mufaddal, which inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Many, including the leader, fell prisoners.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Muhallab, because of his 'Aṣabiyya to the Yemenites, released these, and sent the rest of the prisoners to al-Hajjāj,<sup>2</sup> who executed a large number of them.

Meanwhile, some five hundred of Ibn al-Ash'ath's followers, under Mawdūd ibn Bishr al-Nadārī, were still holding out in Zaranj, although they

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, pp.367-8; Ansāb, fols.18b-19b; Ṭab., II, pp.1104-10 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), however, the narrative of Madā'inī (Ṭab., II, p.1110ff.) is somewhat different from that of Abū Mikhnaḥ.; Kūfī, II, 112a; Ghurār, fols. 63-6; Kāmil, IV, pp.388-90; Mir'āt, VI, fol.44a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Bidāya, IX, pp.48-9 (citing Wāqidī); Ibar, III, p.112; Tārīkh-i Sistān, pp.116-7.
  2. Ansāb, fols.19a-19b; Yaqūbī, II, p.330; Ṭab., II, pp.1120-2 (citing Abū 'Ubaida); Kūfī, II, fol.112b; Mir'āt, VI, fol.51b.

eventually submitted when 'Umāra ibn Tamīm granted them Amām (approved by al-Ḥajjāj), so becoming master of the whole of Sistān.<sup>1</sup>

Now only 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ash'ath himself remained a possible danger to al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Ḥajjāj, therefore, wrote repeatedly to the Zunbīl, in turn threatening him and offering him inducements, to persuade him to hand over Ibn al-Ash'ath. At last al-Ḥajjāj succeeded, by exempting the Zunbīl from the payment of tribute for seven or ten years.<sup>2</sup>

This agreement was reached in the year 85/700. Our sources give different versions of the death of Ibn al-Ash'ath. He is said to have been killed by the Zunbīl himself,<sup>3</sup> or to have died in his bed, of consumption,<sup>4</sup> and his severed head sent to al-Ḥajjāj. Finally, there is the generally accepted account which says that he was put in chains and delivered to 'Umāra ibn Tamīm, who was to take him to al-Ḥajjāj. However, on the way to Iraq, he

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1. Ansāb, fol.19b (citing Madā' inī); Tab., II, pp.1132-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p.399; Mir'at, VI, fol.52b; 'Ibar, III, p.116.
  2. Ansāb, fols.20a-20b (citing al-Haytham and Madā' inī); Ya'qūbī, II, pp.333-4; Tab., II, pp.1133-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols.112b-113a; Ghurār, fols.66-70; Tanbīh, pp.315-6; Bad', VI, pp.36-7; Kāmil IV, pp.399-400; Mir'at, VI, fol.53a; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.208; Bidāya, IX, p.53; 'Ibar, III, p.116.
  3. Ansāb, fol.20a; Tab., II, pp.1133-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p.399; Bidāya, IX, p.53; 'Ibar, III, p.116; Shadharat, I, p.94.
  4. Ansāb, fol.20a; Tab., II, p.1134 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol.113a; Kāmil, IV, pp.399-400; Bidāya, IX, p.53; 'Ibar, III, p.116.

threw himself from a rooftop at Rukhkhaj;<sup>1</sup> and then his head was severed and sent to al-Hajjāj.

The revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath has received much attention from modern scholars. Von Kremer<sup>2</sup>, followed by A. Muller<sup>3</sup> and by Van Vloten,<sup>4</sup> links the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath with that of al-Mukhtār, and regards it as another attempt by the mawālī of Baṣra and Kūfa to obtain economic, social and political rights, as much due to them as to the 'Arab aristocracy, by the teachings of Islam. Wellhausen<sup>5</sup> recognises that the fall of al-Mukhtār did not put an end to the revolt of the mawālī; and that the new measures<sup>6</sup> imposed on the mawālī by al-Hajjāj had made things even more difficult for them.

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1. Ansāb, fol. 20a (citing al-Haytham), 20a-20b (citing Madā'ini); Ya'qūbī, II, p.334; Ghurār, fols. 69-70; Tanbīh, pp.315-16; Bad', VI?, pp.36-7; Kāmil, IV, p.400; Tadhkira, I, fol. 163b; Mir'āt, VI, fol.53a; Mukhtaṣar, I, p.208; Duwal, I, p.24; Bidāya, IX, p.53; Ibar, III, p.116.
  2. Culturgeschichte der Araber, p.23ff. (quoted by M<sup>me</sup> L. Veccia Vaglieri in E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash'ath); Idem, Culturgeschichte des Orient, I (English translation), pp.201-3, Calcutta, 1920.
  3. Der Islam im Morgen-und Abendland, I, pp.390-2 (quoted by M<sup>me</sup> L. Veccia Vaglieri, in E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash'ath).
  4. La Domination Arab, Le Chi'tisme et les Croyances Messianiques sous la Khalifat des Omayyades, pp.17, 26.
  5. The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.245ff; also Lammens, E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (al-Hadjdjadj ibn Yūsuf).
  6. See p. 292.

However, he rejects the view that the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath was a mere continuation of that of al-Mukhtar. The participation of a large number of mawālī in the later revolt was, in his opinion due to the custom of the time, that they should fight side-by-side with their patrons. They might, he adds, have had their own interests in the revolt, but considers that these were only secondary. Wellhausen also denies that the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath had any religious motives; and concludes that it was "rather a renewed and desperately powerful attempt of the Iraqis to shake off the Syrian yoke." Professor Bosworth agrees with Wellhausen when he says that the revolt of the "Peacock army" was "basically a reaction of the old 'Arab aristocracy against the authoritarian rule of the plebian al-Hajjāj, and of the Iraqi 'Arabs against Syrian domination."<sup>1</sup> Finally, M<sup>me</sup> L. Veccia Vaglieri,<sup>2</sup> while considering Wellhausen's argument, refuses to accept the view that the revolt had no religious motivation. She emphasizes the religious aspect of the revolt in the light of the "vehement participation of the Kurra' in it."

Crucial to the proper understanding of this revolt is to take account of the grievances and causes of all the different elements who took part in it: in the case of the leader, the main cause was the personal insult inflicted by al-Hajjāj, but his supporters had each their own reason for joining him. One could define the basic tensions lying beneath the revolt as four: the Iraqi hatred

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1. op. cit., p. 60.

2. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash'ath); also E. I.<sup>2</sup> (al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf).

of al-Ḥajjāj's attempts to make Syrian rule effective, the inequalities in pay and privilege between Syrians and Iraqis, the Shī'a opposition to the Umayyads, and the social inequalities between 'Arab and mawālī. The mawālī were supported in their struggle for equal rights by the Qurra', many of whom were mawālī. But to deal first with the leader of the revolt; the Arabic sources stress strongly the alleged mutual personal hatred between Ibn al-Ash'ath and al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>1</sup> But M<sup>me</sup> Vaglieri<sup>2</sup> is right to point out that the relationship between the two had always been friendly, the reason for al-Ḥajjāj giving to Ibn al-Ash'ath the command of the "peacock army". Moreover, Ibn al-Ash'ath had been a faithful subordinate to al-Ḥajjāj, obeying him until the year 81/700, when the latter insulted him. Nevertheless, from this time, personal factors were important in providing the immediate cause of the revolt. Once a suitable leader presented himself, the people of Basra and Kūfa were quick to support him in his defiance of al-Ḥajjāj; but for reasons of their own, not because of the original personal insult. One main reason for their

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1. Imāma, II, pp.29-30; Ansāb, XI, pp.319-20; (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and 'Awāna), 319 (citing al-Sha'bī); Dīnawarī, p.322; Tab., II, pp.1043-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols.98b, 99a-99b, 101a; Ghurār, fol.53; Kāmil, IV, p.366; Mir'āt, VI, fol.31b; Dhahabī, III, p.128; Bidāya, IX, pp.31-2; Ibar, II, p.105.

2. I.E.<sup>2</sup>, (Ibn al-Ash'ath).

readiness to support Ibn al-Ash'ath was because al-Hajjāj had sent them to fight for a long period (Tajmīr) in inhospitable lands far away from their homes and families; while on the other hand, Syrian troops were not employed in remote regions, neither did they serve any but short periods. Whether they did their military service in the cities of Syria or in Iraq, the Syrians received higher pensions than the Iraqis, despite the latter's harsher conditions. That this inequality of pay and treatment was an Iraqi grievance can be seen by the terms offered to the rebels by the caliph.<sup>1</sup>

Another clear motive behind the initial support given to Ibn al-Ash'ath can be seen in the Shī'a inclinations of the two most active supporters: Abu al-Tufail 'Āmir ibn Wāthila al-Kinānī and 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Shabath ibn Rab'ī al-Tamīmī.<sup>2</sup> Both were past followers of al-Mukhtār, and also both Kūfans from the Northern tribes. This supports what the poet A'shā Hamdān has said, that the 'Asabiyya was not a motive attracting adherents to the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. It would appear that one of the key initial sources of the militancy of the revolt derived from the Shī'a of Kūfa, awaiting any opportunity to challenge Umayyad rule.

Underlying the bai'a paid to Ibn al-Ash'ath in Sīstān was the Iraqi hatred of al-Hajjāj and his harsh policies aimed to make the caliph's rule in

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1. See p. 280.

2. See p. 274 note (2).

Iraq effective. This bai'a: "to give him support and fight with him until God expels al-Ḥajjāj, the enemy of God, from Iraq",<sup>1</sup> is almost identical to that paid to Ibn al-Jārūd a few years earlier.<sup>2</sup> In the two revolts, the first target was al-Ḥajjāj, the main intention, to expel him, rather than any direct renunciation of 'Abd al-Malik. However, by the time of the "bai'a"<sup>3</sup> in Fārs a new development has taken place; homage was paid to Ibn al-Ash'ath "on the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet, to depose the Imāms of Error (A'immat al-Dalāla) and to fight against al-Muḥillīn", i.e. the Umayyads. From a revolt against al-Ḥajjāj and his oppressive policies, the rebels had moved to a revolt against the caliph and the Umayyad rule in general. This development was inherent in the earlier "bai'a", since al-Ḥajjāj had no pretensions to be more than 'Abd al-Malik's officer, and the caliph had always supported his governor's policies.

On Ibn al-Ash'ath's arrival in Baṣra and Kūfa, he was joined by a new element, very large numbers of Qurra'. The reasons for their adherence to the revolt are many: as other Iraqis, they disliked al-Ḥajjāj's attempts to strengthen Syrian domination, and their material interests, they felt, were not sufficiently cared for by al-Ḥajjāj. But other distinctive grievances

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1. Ansāb, XI, p.326 (citing Madā'inī); Tab., II, p.1055 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.372; Mir'at, VI, fol.37b; Bidāya, IX, p.36.
  2. See p. 255.
  3. Ansāb, XI, p.334; Tab., II, pp.1057-8 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Tanbīh, p.314; Murūj, V, pp.302-3; Kāmil, IV, p.373; Mir'at, VI, fol. 37b; Bidāya, IX, p.36; Ibar, III, p.107.



they had as Qurra', religious men: they considered al-Ḥajjāj to be a ruthless and impious man, with religion low on his list of priorities. They were also strong sympathisers of the mawālī, who had received particularly harsh treatment from al-Ḥajjāj. In an effort to restore the finances of Iraq, depleted as a result of the conversion of a great number of the native population to Islam, al-Ḥajjāj had ordered new converts to pay the Jizya, and had, moreover, ordered them to return to their villages.<sup>1</sup> The Qurra' supported the mawālī as champions of equal rights for all Muslims, in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet. The Qurra' were very effective in rallying the population to join the revolt through their propaganda: they proclaimed the need to fight al-Ḥajjāj and his followers by calling them "Muḥillīn", innovators, who disregarded truth and practised oppression. They also depicted them as neglectful of the prayers, and accused them of persecuting the weak. The slogan of the Qurra' is said to have been, "Yā li Thārāt al-Ṣalāt". They

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp. 336-7 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba); Mubarrad, II, pp. 96-7 (he puts this order of al-Ḥajjāj after and not before the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath); Ṭab., II, pp. 1122-3; 'Iqd, III, p. 416 (citing al-Jāhiz); Kāmil, IV, p. 374; 'Ibar, III, p. 107; Von Kramer, Culturgeschichte des Orient (English translation), pp. 201-2; Van Vloten, op. cit., p. 26; Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p. 280; Al-'Alī, Al-Tanzimāt al-Ijtimā'iyya wal Iqtisādiyya Fil Baṣra Fil Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī pp. 84-5, 282; Sharīf, Al-Ṣirā' Bain 'l-'Arab wal Mawālī, pp. 25-6.

urged the people to fight the Syrians, whose impiety endangered both the religion and the material prosperity of the Iraqis (*Dīnukum wa Dunyākum*).<sup>1</sup> They not only preached these doctrines, but were prepared to die for them on the battlefield.

Another, somewhat surprising, element among the supporters of Ibn al-Ash'ath were the Murji'a,<sup>2</sup> who had received special favour from the Umayyads, since their doctrine favoured passive support of the ruler, whatever his evils. The Zutt, Asawira and the Sayābi'a also joined the revolt with their masters, Banū Tamīm, to be severely punished as a result by al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Sa'd, VII, ii, p. 137; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, pp. 371-2; *Ansāb*, fols. 16a, 16b, 17a, 609a (citing *Madā'īnī*); 612a; *Tab.*, II, pp. 1086-8 (citing Abu Mikhnaf; Kūfī, II, fols. 107b, 108a, 108b, 109a; Agh., V, p. 153; *Hilya*, IV, p. 379; 'Asākir, IV, fol. 124b; *Dhahabī*, III, p. 229; *Bidāya*, IX, p. 40 (citing Wāqidī).
  2. *Hūr*, p. 204. It is also said that some Ibādī Khārījites of Baṣra fought al-Ḥajjāj, with Ibn al-Ash'ath. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Al-Ibādīyya).
  3. *Futūḥ*, pp. 373-4; Al-'Alī, *Al-Tanzīmāt al-Ijtīmā'iyya wal Iqtisādiyya fil Baṣra fil Qarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī*, p. 204. Referring to the punishment inflicted by al-Ḥajjāj on the rebels who fell into his hands, M<sup>me</sup> L. Vaglieri says that al-Ḥajjāj "spared all the Kurayshis, all the Syrians, and all those belonging to the clans of the 'two tribes' (named in *Siffin*". To support her argument she refers to a passage in *Tabarī* (II, 1097), which tells the story that, when al-Ḥajjāj asked a man from the tribe of Khath'am to admit that he was an unbeliever since he had not supported al-Ḥajjāj against Ibn al-Ash'ath, the man refused to do so, and therefore was sentenced to death. He found sympathy among the Quraishites, the Syrians, and the parties of both Ibn al-Ash'ath's and al-Ḥajjāj's followers, who mourned the death of such a pious man. (فرغموا أنه لم يسمعوا قوله قريشياً ولا). (سامعوا أهدمهم الحسين إلا رمة ورثي له من القتل). Thus it can be seen that this passage in no way supports M<sup>me</sup> L. Veccia Vaglieri's thesis, and that, therefore, she must have misunderstood the passage.

The strength of the Yemenite influences in the revolt is reflected by Ibn al-Ash'ath's use of the title of *Qaḥṭānī*, the one awaited by the Yemenites to restore them to power.<sup>1</sup> He was also called by the poetess, Bint Saḥm, al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān;<sup>2</sup> it is also said that he called himself *Nāṣir al-Mu'minīn*.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, since the revolt was coloured by the particular greivances and ideas of every contributing group, it is a mistake to attempt to describe the nature of the revolt as though it were homogeneous. Perhaps the only general characteristic among all Ibn al-Ash'ath's followers was a hatred for al-Ḥajjāj and his policy of subjecting Iraq's interests to those of Syria.

One could, indeed, make a general comment on all the revolts dealt with in this chapter (with the exception of the Zanj), that all were provoked by the

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1. *Tanbīh*, p.314; *Bad'*, VI, p.35; Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p.61; Lammens, *Études sur le Siècle des Omayyades*, p.400; Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, p.245; Farazdaq, quoted by Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p.234, n.1; Lewis, *The Regnal Titles of the First 'Abbāsid Caliphs*, p.17, *ZHPV*, 1968; Curiel, *Monnaies, Arabo-Sasanides*, p.67, *IRN*, VIII, 1966.
  2. *Ansāb*, XI, pp.333-4; Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p.61; Lewis, *The Regnal Titles of the First 'Abbāsid Caliphs*, p.17, *ZHPV*, 1968.
  3. *Tanbīh*, p.314; *Bad'*, II, p.184; VI, p.35 (he is called here *Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn*); Van Vloten, *op. cit.*, p.61, n.4.

harshness or tactlessness of al-Ḥajjāj, so that one might wonder why ‘Abd al-Malik did not save himself a fair amount of trouble by removing al-Ḥajjāj and appointing in his place a more reasonable man. This, however, would be to miss the point that only a man such as al-Ḥajjāj could have made the caliph's rule in Iraq effective. The benefit of al-Ḥajjāj's ruthlessness in crushing Iraqi opposition was felt in the years 85-95/704-713 in which Iraq was peaceful and free from troubles.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE KHĀRIJITE RISINGS

The worst period of Khārijite risings during the Umayyad caliphate occurred in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, who was threatened by them from several fronts. In Yamāma were the Najdāt or al-Najdiyya,<sup>1</sup> whose field of activity embraced, in addition to Yamāma, Ḥaḍramut, parts of Yemen, Baḥrain, Ṭā'if and 'Umān. Basra was directly and constantly threatened by the dangerous Azāriqa,<sup>2</sup> who controlled al-Ahwāz, Fārs, Isfahān and Kirmān. In Muṣīl and the Jazīra region were the Ṣufriyya.<sup>3</sup> Finally, there was another Khārijite group in Basra, namely al-Ibādiyya,<sup>4</sup> who played a distinctive role in the history of the period, although they did not take arms against the caliph.

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1. Followers of Najda ibn 'Āmir al-Hanafī, E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (Khāridjites); Wellhausen, Die Religios Politischen Oppositionenparteien im alten Islam, p. 29; Watt, Islam and the Integration of Society, p. 100, London, 1966.
  2. A Khārijite sect which took its name from its leader Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq. He held the doctrine that all his adversaries should be put to death with their wives and children. E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Azāriqa); Watt, Islam and the Integration of Society, pp. 99-100; Idem, Islamic Political Thought, pp. 55-6, Islamic Surveys, 6, Edinburgh, 1968.
  3. Followers of Sālīḥ ibn Mussarih, who was succeeded by Shabīb ibn Yazīd ibn Nu'aim al-Shaibānī. E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (Shabīb ibn Yazīd ibn Nu'aim al-Shaibānī); Watt, Khārijite Thought in The Umayyad Period, p. 222, DI, XXXBI, 1961.
  4. An important branch of the Khārijites, which derived its name from that of its founder 'Abdallah ibn Tbaḍ al-Murrī al-Tamīmī, E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Al-Ibādiyya).

The Khārijites, because they held to the doctrines of equality and the elective caliphate, considered the Umayyads to be usurpers. The political confusion in the period 64-73/683-692, together with the harsh policies of al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq, were certainly among the reasons encouraging the Khārijites to defy the central government.

It is not the intention of this study to deal with the origin of the Khārijites, nor their doctrines or theological differences: its only concern is the political aspect of the Khārijite risings during ‘Abd al-Malik's reign, and how these risings were suppressed.

In the year 65/684, the Khārijites of Yamāma, who were from Bakr and, more especially, from Banū Ḥanīfa, chose Abū Ṭālūt, Sālim, as their leader. This choice was, however, conditional, for they stipulated that should they find a better person, both Abū Ṭālūt and the Khārijites would pay homage to the new man.<sup>1</sup> Abū Ṭālūt with his followers then seized al-Ḥaḍārīm, which had originally belonged to Banū Ḥanīfa, but had been confiscated by Mu‘āwīya, who had sent there four thousand slaves, probably to cultivate the land for him. When Abū Ṭālūt seized the region, he distributed the slaves among his followers. Meanwhile, one of the Khārijites, Najda ibn ‘Āmir al-Ḥanafī, intercepted a caravan coming from Baṣra to Ibn al-Zubair in Mecca, and brought the spoils to Abū Ṭālūt in al-Ḥaḍārīm, where they were distributed. Najda also advised the Khārijites to continue

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1. Ansāb, XI, p.126; Kāmil, IV, p.165; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.46; Ibar, III, p.313.

to use the slaves to cultivate the land for them. Those actions brought him such distinction that Abū Ṭālūt was deposed and Najda elected as leader in his place and from now on the movement was called after him. Najda was by this time (66/685) only thirty years old.<sup>1</sup> He had already exercised considerable influence in Yamāma<sup>2</sup>, and it is probable that it was only his youth which had before delayed his election as Kharijite caliph.

On assuming the leadership, Najda went to al-Bahrain where he raided the Banū Ka'b ibn Rabī'a, and in the battle of Dhu'l-Majāz, inflicted a severe defeat on them.<sup>3</sup> In the year 67/686 Najda marched once again on al-Bahrain to subdue the tribes of 'Abd al-Qais who were at this time hostile to the Kharijites. With the help of al-Azd, Najda was able to kill a large number of 'Abd al-Qais and also captured a large number as prisoners in al-Qatīf, where he stayed for a while.<sup>4</sup>

The growing strength of Najda in 'Arabia threatened directly the authority of Ibn al-Zubair. Consequently, Hamza ibn 'Abdallah ibn al-

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1. Ansāb, XI, pp. 127-8; Mu'jam, II, p. 450ff.; Kāmil, IV, p. 166; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 45.
  2. Tab., II, pp. 401-2 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Maqālāt, I, pp. 89-90; Bagh., p. 66; Brunnow, Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Umayyaden, Leiden, 1884, (English translation), p. 14.
  3. Ansāb, XI, pp. 127-8; Kāmil, IV, p. 166; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 47; Ibar, III, p. 313.
  4. Ansāb, XI, pp. 130-1; Maqālāt, I, p. 90; Kāmil, IV, p. 166; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 47; Ibar, III, p. 314.

Zubair, who was the governor of Baṣra for his father, tried to check Najda's influence there. He sent 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umair al-Laithī with an army of fourteen thousand against him, but this army was surprised and put to flight (67/686).<sup>1</sup> Following this victory, Najda sent 'Aṭiyya ibn al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī to 'Umān where 'Abbād ibn 'Abdallāh ibn al-Julanda and his two sons, Sa'īd and Sulaimān, were in control.<sup>2</sup> 'Aṭiyya succeeded in capturing 'Umān and stayed there for a few months, and then left the country in the hands of Abu'l-Qāsim, his deputy. However, Abu'l-Qāsim was killed and Sa'īd and Sulaimān, supported by the 'Umānis, once again seized the country.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, 'Aṭiyya ibn al-Aswad fell out with Najda, perhaps because of personal jealousy, and went back to 'Umān.<sup>4</sup> Unable to seize the country, he went to Kirmān, where he achieved enough success to enable him to issue his own coins (al-Darāhim al-'Atwiyya).<sup>5</sup> However,

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1. Ansāb, XI, p. 133; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 325; Tab., II, p. 752; Kāmil, IV, pp. 166-7; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 47-8; 'Iḥṣān, III, p. 314. On the chronology of this event, see Wellhausen, Die Religios Politischen Oppositionenparteien im alten Islam, p. 30, n. 2.

2. See Chapter V, p. 263 ff.

3. Ansāb, XI, p. 134; Kāmil, IV, p. 167; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 48; 'Iḥṣān, III, p. 314.

4. According to Balādhurī the reasons for the disagreement between the two were Najda's inequality in distributing the 'Aṭa' and his correspondence with 'Abd al-Malik. Ansāb, XI, p. 142.

5. Ansāb, XI, p. 142; Kāmil, IV, p. 167; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 48; Miles, Some New Light on the History of Kirmān, p. 90, WOI, 1959.



this success was not long lasting, for he was followed by al-Muhallab's cavalry. He fled to Sistān and then to Sind, where he was killed in Qindābīl.<sup>1</sup>

By this time (68/687), Najda had subdued the northern parts of al-Baḥrain and levied the Ṣadaqa from the Banū Tamīm in Kāḍima. He also entered Ṣan'ā' where he received the homage of the people and collected the Ṣadaqa from them. To Ḥadramut, Najda sent Abū Fudaik to levy the Ṣadaqa on its people.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of these successful campaigns, the influence of Najda in Arabia became even greater than that of Ibn al-Zubair,<sup>3</sup> At this time, 'Abd al-Malik, with many problems to face at home, was unable to send an army against Najda. Instead he wrote to him, confirming him as a governor of Yamāma and freeing him from all responsibility for the blood he had shed and the money he had seized, on the condition that he would pay him homage.<sup>4</sup> Najda, however, bluntly refused. 'Abd al-Malik had two objects in mind

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1. Ansāb, XI, p.135; Bagh., p.67; Kāmil, IV, p.167; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.48; 'Ibar, III, p.314. However, Professor Montgomery Watt, following the account of Ash'arī, makes this <sup>dis</sup>agreement as between 'Atiyya ibn al-Aswad and Abū Fudaik. Maqālāt, I, p.92; Khārijite Thought in the Umayyad Period, p.219, DI, XXXVI, 1961.

2. Ansāb, XI, pp.136-7 (citing Madā'inī); Kāmil, IV, pp.167-8; Nuwairī, XIX, fol.48; 'Ibar, III, p.314.

3. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.200.

4. Ansāb, XI, p.314; Maqālāt, I, p.92; Milal, p.215; Kāmil, IV, p.169; 'Ibar, III, p.315.

in this correspondence with Najda. Firstly, he hoped to win Najda over to his side or else to keep him quiet for a while; should this fail, he might succeed in causing disagreement between Najda and his followers. As we shall see, 'Abd al-Malik achieved this last object, causing Najda to be deposed and eventually killed.<sup>1</sup>

However, in the pilgrimage of this year (68/687), Najda and about 680 of his followers went to Mecca where they performed their religious pilgrimage independent of both Ibn al-Zubair and 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>2</sup> This shows the weakness of Ibn al-Zubair, since he did not dare refuse them permission; it also shows that Najda was equal in power to both the caliph and his rival Ibn al-Zubair. Finishing his pilgrimage, Najda intended to proceed to Medīna, but he abandoned this plan because of religious scruples, and went to Ṭā'if instead.<sup>3</sup> On approaching Ṭā'if, 'Āmir ibn 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī met Najda and paid him homage on behalf of himself and the people of Ṭā'if, thus making it unnecessary for Najda to enter the city. He then went to Tabāla, from where he proceeded to al-Bahrain. Before leaving al-Bahrain, however, he appointed officials.

1. See p. 304.

2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, I, p. 333; *Ansāb*, XI, p. 137; *Ṭab.*, II, pp. 782-3 (citing *Wāqidī*); *Kāmil*, IV, pp. 168, 244-5; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 48, 67; *Bidāya*, VIII, pp. 294-5; *Ibar*, III, p. 314.

3. It is said that all the Medinese, on hearing that Najda was coming towards them, prepared themselves to fight him; even the most pious and politically inactive, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb. *Ansāb*, XI, p. 137; *Kāmil*, IV, p. 188; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 48.

Al-Ḥarūq al-Ḥanafī was made governor of Ṭā'if, Tabāla and al-Surāt; and Sa'd al-Ṭalāyī was sent to collect the Ṣadaqa from Banū Hilāl in Najrān. From al-Bahrain, Najda sent orders stopping the Mīra (food provisions) for Mecca and Medīna. This was another way of defying the authority of Ibn al-Zubair in his own capital. It was only by repeated requests from pious men such as 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās, appealing to Najda's religious feelings, that the Mīra was restored.<sup>1</sup>

Underlying Najda's apparent success were currents already working to undermine him: no sooner had he reached the peak of his power, than he was rapidly to decline. For discontent soon arose among his followers, which first led to his deposition and eventually to his murder in 72/691. This discontent arose from the perennial problem of Khārijism; the conflict between the believers in a strict adherence to the literal interpretation of the Qur'ān and the Sunna of the Prophet, and those who believed in the "evolutionary adaptation based on reason and the spirit of Islām".<sup>2</sup> Najda was overthrown by the first group. The sources give as the reasons for their discontent, Najda's correspondence with 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and his giving to him a grand daughter of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, seized in one of the raids;<sup>3</sup> Najda's refusal to kill those who followed him only because of

1. Ansāb, IV, pp. 139-40; Kāmil, IV, pp. 168-9; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 49; 'Ibar, III, p. 315.

2. Salem, Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij, p. 22 (the John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXIV, No. 2, 1956).

3. Muḡtālīn, p. 179; Ansāb, XI, pp. 137-8; 143; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 325; Maqālat, I, p. 92; Mīlāl, p. 215; Kāmil, IV, pp. 168-9; 'Ibar, III, p. 315.

Taqiyya (prudent fear); his unjust distribution of the Fai' among the troops;<sup>1</sup> his unwillingness to punish one of his distinguished followers because he had drunk wine;<sup>2</sup> and finally, his payment to both Mālīk ibn Misma' and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād ibn Z'abian of ten thousand dirhams each when they fled from Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair to take refuge with him in Yamāma.<sup>3</sup>

After the deposition of Najda, his followers chose one of the mawālī called Thābit al-Tammār, as his successor. They were soon to realize that they would rather follow an 'Arab than a mawlā, proving that their tribal feelings were stronger than their Khārījite doctrine. However, they charged Thābit to choose a new caliph for them, and he chose Abū Fudaik, 'Abdallāh ibn Thawr from the Banū Qais ibn Tha'labā.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, Najda, fearing Abū Fudaik, hid himself in one of the villages of Hajar. When this hiding place was discovered, he took refuge with his cousins, Banū Tamīm. Najda thought by this time to flee and join

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1. Ansāb, XI, p. 142; Maqālāt, I, p. 91; Kāmil, IV, p. 169; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 49; 'Ibar, III, p. 315.
  2. Ansāb, XI, p. 143; Maqālāt, I, p. 91; Kāmil, IV, p. 169; 'Ibar, III, p. 315.
  3. Muḡhtālīn, p. 179; Ansāb, XI, p. 143; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 325; Maqālāt, I, pp. 91-2.
  4. Muḡhtālīn, p. 179; Ansāb, XI, p. 143; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 325-6; Maqālāt, I, p. 92; Kāmil, IV, p. 169; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 49; 'Ibar, III, p. 315. However, according to Baghdādī and Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, it was Najda, after his deposition, who chose Abū Fudaik and not Thābit al-Tammār. Bagh., p. 69; Sharḥ, IV, p. 134.

‘Abd al-Malik in Damascus,<sup>1</sup> but he was surprised and killed (72/691).<sup>2</sup>

His death did not go unrevenged. One of his followers, called Muslim ibn Jābir al-Ḥanafī, plunged a knife into Abū Fudaid. However, the latter was only wounded, while the assailant was assassinated.<sup>3</sup> Because of this Abū Fudaik left Yamāma, where Banū Ḥanīfa were dominant, and went to al-Bahrain, where he made his head-quarters.

Despite his pre-occupations,<sup>4</sup> Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubair, the governor of Baṣra for his brother, tried to put an end to the activities of the Khārījites of Yamāma. It seems that he was encouraged by the last dissension among them which had resulted in the murder of Najda and the leadership of Abū Fudaik. He therefore sent a Baṣran army under Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥman ibn al-Iskāf (72/691) against them; this campaign, however, was a complete failure.<sup>5</sup> According to Balādhurī,<sup>6</sup> another army under Ziyād ibn al-Qurashī,

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1. This reflects the early correspondence between the two. See p. 300.
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 338 (the year given here is 70); Ansāb, XI, pp. 144-5; Tab., II, p. 829; Maqālāt, I, p. 92; Bagh., p. 69; Mīlāl, p. 215; Kāmil, IV, pp. 169-70; Sharḥ IV, p. 134; Nuwairī, XIX, fols. 49-50; Ibar, III, p. 315.
  3. Ansāb, XI, p. 147; Idem, fol. 40a (citing Madā’ inī); Kāmil, IV, p. 170; Nuwairī, XIX, fol. 50.
  4. He was by this time threatened by both the Azāriqa and ‘Abd al-Malik.
  5. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 339 (the year 71 is given here); Ansāb, fol. 40a (citing Madā’ inī).
  6. Ansāb, fol. 40a.

with troops from Baṣra and Bahrain, marched against Abū Fudaik. But Ziyād was killed with a large number of his army. Thus ended in failure all the attempts of the Zubairīds to crush the Khārījites of Yamāma. Muṣ'ab had no more time to deal with Abū Fudaik and his followers, for he was killed in that year, 72/691, in a battle with 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>1</sup>

The new governor of Baṣra, Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Asīd, dispatched an army under his brother Umayya against Abū Fudaik, 73/692, But Umayya and his twelve thousand men were ambushed and put to flight.<sup>2</sup> It was such a humiliating defeat that Umayya had to hide himself from the people, while his brother Khālīd wrote to the caliph in an attempt to justify the defeat by blaming the Baṣrans for not holding firm in the battle-field. Khālīd also informed the caliph of the seriousness of the situation, for Baṣra was threatened by both Abū Fudaik and the Azāriqa. It is worth noting here that at this time another brother of Khālīd, 'Abd al-'Azīz, was defeated by the Azāriqa. Despite their theological differences, both the Azāriqa and the Najdāt seem to have been co-ordinating, to force the government's troops to fight on two fronts.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See Chapter IV, p. 239.

2. Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, p. 221; 'Uyūn, p. 208; *Ansāb*, fols. 39a-39b (citing Wahab ibn Jarīr), 40a-40b (citing Madā' inī); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 325; *Ṭab.*, II, pp. 829, 861; 'Iqd, I, p. 168; Mu'jam, IV, p. 493; Kāmil, IV, p. 281; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 3a; Dhahabī, III, p. 111; Bidāya, VIII, p. 348 (quoting Ṭabatt); 'Ibar, III, p. 322; *Khizāna*, IV, p. 40 (quoting Nuwairī).

3. Wellhausen, *Die Religios Politischen Oppositionenparteien im alten Islam*, p. 38; *Qalamāwī*, *Adab al-Khawārij fīl 'Aṣr al-Umawī*, p. 36; Cairo, 1945.

Owing to this alarming situation, the caliph decided to send another campaign against Abū Fudaik, to which command he chose ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Ma‘mar. The latter only accepted this appointment on the assurance from the caliph that neither his brother Bishr ibn Marwān, the governor of Kūfa, nor Khālīd ibn ‘Abdallāh, the governor of Baṣra, would interfere in the campaign. For he was sure that such interference would take place since his appointment came directly from the caliph. Moreover, in Khālīd’s case, he would be delighted to see this campaign end with failure to save his brother’s reputation.<sup>1</sup>

‘Umar left Damascus with Syrian troops for Kūfa, where he recruited about eight thousand men. He placed them under Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥa and ordered them to proceed to Baṣra. ‘Umar spent few days in Kūfa and then joined his army. In Baṣra he recruited another ten thousand men under his cousin Mūsā ibn ‘Ubaidallāh ibn Ma‘mar. With this numerous army, ‘Umar marched on Abū Fudaik in al-Bahrain.<sup>2</sup>

As with almost all other Khārījite leaders, Abū Fudaik was joined by a number of Bedouins (A‘rāb), who did not profess Khārījism.<sup>3</sup> It is this

1. Ansāb, fols. 40b-41a (citing Madā’ inī).

2. Ḥadhif, p.78; Ansāb, fol.39b (citing al-Haytham and Wahab ibn Jarīr), 41a-41b (citing Madā’ inī); Ṭab., II, p.852; Kāmil, IV, p.294; Mir’āt, VI, fol.3b; Dhahabī, III, pp.115-16; Ibar, III, p.322; Khizāna, IV, p.40 (quoting Nuwairī).

3. Ansāb, fol.41b.

participation of the Bedouins, together with religious fanaticism, which gave the Khārijite movement its distinguishing characteristics of deep tribal and religious fervour.

‘Umar ibn ‘Ubaidallah ibn Ma‘mar with his army, said to have numbered twenty one thousand men, met Abū Fudaik and his followers in al-Mushshaqqar in al-Bahrain. In the battle, which lasted for five days, the advantage was first with Abū Fudaik's army. However, thanks to the courage and skill of ‘Umar, the situation was reversed, and Abū Fudaik was killed, his head being sent to the caliph.<sup>1</sup> His followers were pursued and the mawālī among them were killed, while the ‘Arabs were set free. Thus the Najdāt were crushed in Arabia, never to rise again.

When ‘Abd al-Malik recovered control of Iraq after the death of Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubair in the battle of Maskin, 72/691, he found it necessary to take immediate measures against the Azāriqa. By this time the Azāriqa held Khuzistān, Fārs and Kirmān, forming a direct menace to Baṣra and the surrounding territories. Although al-Muhallab, whom Muṣ‘ab had sent against them, achieved no decisive victory over them, he did succeed in driving them away from Baṣra. Under ‘Abd al-Malik, al-Muhallab was confirmed in

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1. Ḥadhif, p.78; Ansāb, fols.39a (citing al-Haytham and Wahab ibn Jarīr), 41b-43a (citing Mada’inī); Ya‘qūbī, II, p.326; Tab., II, pp.852-3; Bagh., p.70; Milal, p.216; Kāmil, IV, pp.294-5; Mir’āt, VI, fol.3b; Dhahabī, III, pp.115-16; ‘Ibar, III, p.322; Khizāna, IV, pp.40-1 (quoting Nuwairī).



his post, to fight the Azāriqa. But, nevertheless, the situation did not improve. For 'Abd al-Malik's new governor of Basra, Khālīd ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Asīd, out of personal jealousy, decided to fight the Azariqa himself, disregarding the caliph's orders. He also paid no heed to the advice of his intimates nor of the people of Basra discouraging him. With his army, Khālīd, accompanied by al-Muhallab, met the Azāriqa in al-Ahwāz. Meanwhile, following the caliph's order, Bishr ibn Marwān, the governor of Kūfa, re-inforced the army fighting the Azāriqa by Kūfan troops under 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath. Thanks to the caution and advice of al-Muhallab, Khālīd managed to drive the Azāriqa, after forty days of fighting, back to Kirmān.<sup>1</sup>

After this scant success, Khālīd returned to Basra leaving his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz in charge of the war with the Azāriqa, while al-Muhallab was appointed governor of al-Ahwāz.<sup>2</sup> After five months in Kirmān, Qatrī and his followers came back to Fārs. As a result, 'Abd al-'Azīz with thirty thousand Basrans met them in a battle in Dārābjird. Owing to his lack of experience and military foresight, 'Abd al-'Azīz was overwhelmingly defeated

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1. Ansāb, fols. 31a-32b (citing Madā' inī); Mubarrad, III, pp. 347-53; Tab., II, pp. 824-7 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols. 60b-61b; Ghurār, fols. 10-11; Kāmil, IV, pp. 280-1; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 3a; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 171-3; Ibar, III, p. 321.
  2. According to Abū Mikhnaf, after his success, Khālīd dispatched Dāwūd ibn Qaḥḍam with some cavalry men to follow the Azāriqa. Being informed of this, the caliph ordered Bishr ibn Marwān to send a Kūfan army to re-inforce Dāwūd's cavalry. Bishr therefore sent 'Attāb ibn Warqā' al-Riyāḥī with four thousand Kūfans. Both Dāwūd and 'Attāb followed the retreating Azāriqa but without success. Tab., II, pp. 827-28; Kāmil, IV, p. 281; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 3a.

and his army scattered.<sup>1</sup> This failure to cope with the Khārījite threat cost Khālīd his governorship: he was soon removed from his post and Baṣra was added to the government of Bishr ibn Marwān in Kūfa.<sup>2</sup>

We have two narratives dealing with these events. One is al-Madā'inī's in Balādhurī repeated by al-Mubarrad, and with which both Ibn A'tham and Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd are in complete agreement. The second narrative is that of Abū Mikhnaḥ in Ṭabarī, a detailed narrative, repeated by Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Khaldūn. The narrative of the author of Ghurār al-Siyar is very similar to that of Ibn A'tham. However, the former is less detailed. There is one main difference between the two narratives of Madā'inī and Abū Mikhnaḥ. Contrary to al-Madā'inī, Abū Mikhnaḥ dates the campaign of Khālīd after that of 'Abd al-Azīz. However, judging from the fact that al-Madā'inī is a more reliable authority on the affairs of Baṣra and the eastern provinces than Abū Mikhnaḥ, whose main interest was Kūfa and its affairs, one is inclined to prefer the narrative of al-Madā'inī on this point. Moreover, Madā'inī's account has a confirmation in the narrative of Wahab ibn Jarīr,<sup>3</sup> who agrees with him on this.

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1. Ibn Qais al-Ruqayyāt, Dīwān, p.190; Ansāb, fols.32b-33b (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Mubarrad, III, pp.353-5; Tab., II, pp.822-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols.62a-63b; Ghurār, fol. II; Mu'jam, II, p.66; Kāmil, IV, pp.279-80; Mir'āt, VI, fol.21; Sharḥ, IV, pp.173-6; Ibar, III, p.320.
  2. See Chapter III, p. 209
  3. Ansāb, IV, ii, pp.158-9.

The caliph, despite the removal of Khālīd, re-appointed al-Muhallab as responsible for fighting the Azāriqa, and gave him a free hand in recruiting troops from Baṣra. Also on the caliph's orders, Bishr ibn Marwān, the governor of Iraq, sent a Kūfan army under 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mikhnaḥ to join al-Muhallab.<sup>1</sup> However, being appointed directly by the caliph, al-Muhallab was independent of Bishr. Realising this, Bishr sought to depose him and turned to Ibn Mikhnaḥ, ordering him to disobey al-Muhallab. But, being an Azdite like al-Muhallab himself, and wiser than the young inexperienced Bishr, Ibn Mikhnaḥ considered the interest of his own people and country rather than the personal interest of the governor.<sup>2</sup> He, therefore, did not listen to Bishr's orders, although he pretended to accept them. Al-Muhallab, with the troops of Baṣra and Kūfa, was able to push the Azāriqa back, and captured Rām-Hurmūz where he stayed for ten days.

Meanwhile, Bishr ibn Marwān died in Baṣra. The news of his death gave the turbulent troops of Baṣra and Kūfa an excuse for leaving their camp: they made their way to their homes, loitering in the cities.<sup>3</sup> Being left

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1. Ansāb, fol. 34a; Mubarrad, III, pp. 362-3; Tab., II, p. 855 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 65a-67a; Ghurār, fol. 12; Kāmil, IV, p. 297; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 8b; Sharḥ, IV, p. 178; Dhahabī, III, pp. 116-7 (quoting Ṭabarī); Bidāya, IX, p. 3; lbar, III, p. 322.
  2. Imāma, II, p. 76-7; Ansāb, fols. 34a; 34b; Mubarrad, III, pp. 362-3; Tab., II, p. 826 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 297; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 8b; Sharḥ, IV, p. 180; Bidāya, IX, p. 3; lbar, III, pp. 90-1, 323.
  3. Ansāb, fol. 34b; Mubarrad, III, pp. 364-6; Tab., II, pp. 857-9 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 67b; Ghurār, fols. 12-13; Kāmil, IV, pp. 297-8; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 8b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 180-1; Bidāya, IX, p. 3; lbar, III, pp. 91, 323-4.

with only small number of his Azdite people, al-Muhallab was forced to the defensive. Thanks to the disagreement which arose among the Azāriqa, al-Muhallab was left unattacked.<sup>1</sup> The situation, however, remained crucial, and needed an energetic and prudent man to restore order among the indisciplined troops of Iraq, and to back al-Muhallab effectively in his campaign against the Azāriqa. As we have seen earlier, 'Abd al-Malik found such a man in al-Ḥajjāj, to whom he assigned the governorship of Iraq (75/694).<sup>2</sup>

The presence of al-Ḥajjāj, as governor in Iraq, was indeed a turning point in the struggle against the Khārijites in general and the Azāriqa in particular. He not only forced the insubordinate people of Iraq to go back to their camp in Rām-Hurmuz, but also continued to back al-Muhallab until the Azāriqa were completely crushed.<sup>3</sup> In order to strengthen al-Muhallab to face the enemy effectively, al-Ḥajjāj assigned to him the Kharāj of all the lands which he would conquer between Fārs and Baṣra, until the war was over.

With this energetic backing, al-Muhallab was now able to take the offensive, pushing back the Azāriqa to Sābūr. Then he made his camp in Arjān and seized Sardan, a mountainous region which otherwise the Azāriqa

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1. Kūfī, II, fol. 68a; Ghurār, fols. 14-15.

2. See Chapter III, pp. 210

3. See Chapter V, p. 252

might have used to fortify themselves. From Arjān al-Muhallab moved to Kāzrūn where he secured his camp from night attacks by digging a ditch round it. By this time the Kūfan army under Ibn Mikhnaf had also arrived, but had a separate camp to al-Muhallab's. Ibn Mikhnaf, who had no experience of the method of warfare of the Azāriqa, ignored the advice of al-Muhallab and refused to dig a trench around his camp. The Azāriqa made a surprise night attack on al-Muhallab's camp, which completely failed because of the ditch. They then turned to Ibn Mikhnaf's camp which, unprotected as it was by a ditch, allowed them to inflict a severe defeat on the Kūfans in which many lives were lost, including that of their leader Ibn Mikhnaf (75/695).<sup>1</sup>

In the next year, 76/696, al-Ḥajjāj sent 'Attāb ibn Warqā' al-Riyāḥī, the governor of Isbahān, to replace Ibn Mikhnaf as the leader of the Kūfan army. However, 'Attāb did not stay long as commander, being recalled to Iraq after only eight months (77/697). He was transferred because he was needed in the war against another Khārijite group, Shabīb and his followers;

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1. Surāqa ibn Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp.43-4; *Ansāb*, fols.34b-35a; Mubarrad, III, pp.370-3; *Tab.*, II, pp.875 (citing Abū Mikhnaf), 879-80; Kāmil, IV, pp.315-16; *Mir'āt*, VI, fol.16b; *Sharḥ*, IV, pp.185-7; Dhahabī, III, pp.119-20; *Bidāya*, IX, p.10; *Ibar*, III, pp.99, 323-4. However, the Kūfans' account, which implies that al-Muhallab was responsible for this defeat, should not be taken seriously. It is obviously an anti-Muhallab tradition; and also Kūfan attempt to justify their defeat. *Tab.*, II, p.876.

also the relationship between him and al-Muhallab had begun to deteriorate, threatening a tribal conflict between the Tamīm supporting ‘Attāb, and the Azd and Bakr supporting al-Muhallab. It was in the light of this rift that al-Muhallab became keen on strengthening the Hilf between al-Azd and Bakr, of which he had not at first been in favour.<sup>1</sup> After ‘Attāb's departure, al-Muhallab appointed his own son Ḥabīb to be head of the Kūfan army. They together continued to fight the Azāriqa in Sābūr, and expelled them from Fārs completely. The Azāriqa then went to Kirmān, where they fortified themselves in Jīruft.<sup>2</sup>

Impatient as always, al-Ḥajjāj continued to send reproachful messages and deputations to al-Muhallab. He accused him of deliberately prolonging the war in order to appropriate for himself the Kharāj of the lands under his control. Al-Ḥajjāj urged him to waste no time in exterminating the enemy.<sup>3</sup> Because of his distrust of al-Muhallab, al-Ḥajjāj took away from him the control

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1. Ansāb, fol. 35b; Mubarrad, III, pp. 379-81; Tab., II, pp. 872-8 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 316; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 17a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Sharḥ, IV, pp. 194-6; Bidayā, IX, p. 10; Ibar, III, pp. 99, 324.
  2. Ansāb, fol. 36a; Mubarrad, III, p. 382; Tab., II, p. 1003 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, pp. 317, 353; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26a; Sharḥ, IV, p. 196; Ibar, III, p. 99.
  3. Uyūn, p. 49; Ansāb, fols. 34b-35a; 35b (citing Madā' inī); Mubarrad, III, pp. 368, 370, 373-4, 377-8, 379, 385-6; Tab., II, p. 1003 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 72a; 72b, 73a-75b, 77a-80a; Ghurār, fols. 19-21, 22-24; Iqd, I, p. 145; Agh., XIII, p. 60; Kāmil, IV, pp. 363-9; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 26a-26b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 187, 189-92, 193-4, 195, 199-200, 219-20 (quoting Iṣbahānī); Nuwairī, VII, p. 246-8.

of Fārs, as soon as the district was recovered once and for all from the Azāriqa. It was only on the caliph's orders, that he left the revenue of special "Kuwar" for al-Muhallab to maintain his army.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, al-Muhallab showed tolerance towards the impatient governor, and tried to explain to him that his strategy was not to risk a battle which would expose his army to danger, preferring to wait until an opportunity arose to deal the fatal blow to the enemy. Nevertheless, he did not leave them completely unmolested, but carried on continuous skirmishes and minor battles.

Meanwhile, disputes "over matters of state and interpretation of law" arose among the Azāriqa. These disputes were fomented by al-Muhallab,<sup>2</sup> who found in them a good opportunity to weaken his enemy. Eventually, these disputes resulted in the desertion of eight thousand mawālī, under one of them, 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr, from Qatir ibn al-Fujā'a, with whom were

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1. Ansāb, fol. 36b; Mubarrad, III, p. 389; Tab., II, pp. 1003-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p. 354; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26a; Sharh, IV, p. 201; 'Ibar, III, p. 342.
  2. Ansāb, fols. 36a, 36b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), 37a; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 329; Mubarrad, III, pp. 382-3; Tab., II, pp. 1006-7; Kūfī, II, fols. 83b-88a; Ghurur, fols. 27-30; Maqālāt, I, pp. 87-9; Bad', VI, p. 32; Bagh., pp. 65-6; Kāmil, IV, pp. 354-5; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26b; Sharh, IV, pp. 197-9, 202-3, 204-5; 'Ibar, III, p. 343; I. 'Abbās, Shi'r al-Khawārij, p. 35, Beirut, 1963. However, this large number of mawālī in the ranks of the Azāriqa might have been due to the fact that their movement flourished in the Persian provinces of al-Ahwāz, Fars, Isbahān and Kirmān. For, with its doctrine of equality, the Khārijite movement was the most attractive movement to them. Thomson, Khārijitism and Khārijites, p. 376, MPV, Princeton, 1933.

the majority of the 'Arabs. Also 'Amru'l-Qanā with a small number of 'Arabs joined 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, al-Ḥajjāj, since the war was costly both in men and equipment and in loss of revenue from Khāraj-controlled provinces, urged al-Muhallab to seize this opportunity and attack them. However, al-Muhallab did otherwise, for he thought that this attack on them might serve to reunite them. Nevertheless, 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr and his mawālī followers drove Qatrī and his 'Arab supporters out of the city of Jīruft and they made their camp outside the city. But they soon realised that it was wiser not to put themselves between two stools, i.e. 'Abd Rabbih and al-Muhallab, and they therefore left Jīruft and made for Ṭabaristān.<sup>2</sup>

The departure of Qatrī to Ṭabaristān made it easier for al-Muhallab to deal with the remainder of the Azāriqa under 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr. The latter was soon killed in a battle and his followers dispersed, while some of them were granted Amān by al-Muhallab. The latter returned to Baṣra where he and his sons and his prominent soldiers were received very warmly

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1. Wellhausen, Die Religios Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p. 40.
  2. Ansāb fols. 137b-138a; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 329; Mubarrad, III, p. 394; Tab., II, p. 1007 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 85b; Ghurar, fol. 28; Bagh., p. 66; Mu'jam, II, p. 62; Kāmil, IV, p. 355; Mīr'āt, VI, fol. 26b; Sharḥ, IV, p. 206; Wafayāt, I, p. 601; Bidāya, IX, p. 30 (citing Abū Ma'shar and Wāqidī); 'Ibar, III, p. 343.



by both al-Ḥajjāj and the people (78/692).<sup>1</sup> Thus the war between al-Muhallab and the Azāriqa, which lasted for three years of al-Ḥajjāj's governorship, ended in success.

While al-Muhallab was still fighting 'Abd Rabbih al-Ṣaghīr and his followers, he wrote to al-Ḥajjāj about the situation and asked him to send an army against Qatrī ibn al-Fujā'a and 'Ubaida ibn Hilāl in Ṭabaristān. Al-Ḥajjāj accordingly sent Sufyān ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbī with a Syrian army against them. To Sufyān's aid came a Kūfan army under 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ash'ath from Ṭabaristān, as well as Ja'far ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mikhnaf with an army from Rayy. By these combined efforts, Qatrī was killed and his head sent to al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the Azāriqa were not completely exterminated. For 'Ubaida ibn Hilāl and his followers fortified themselves in a castle in Qūmis. But Sufyān ibn al-Abrad, who was now in charge of the war against the Azāriqa, tackled him as soon as he finished with Qatrī. He besieged them for three months. During this they suffered badly from lack of provisions. Sufyān also issued Amān for those who would lay down their arms and come over to his side.

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 356; Ansāb, fols. 37a, 37b (citing al-Haytham); Dīnawarī, pp. 286-9; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 329; Mubarrad, III, pp. 394, 396-409; Ṭab., II, pp. 1007 (citing Abū Mikhnaf), 1033 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fols. 84a-88b; 89a, 90a-90b; Ghurar, fols. 28-30, 31-3; 'Iqd, II, pp. 81-2 (citing Madā' int); Murūj, V, pp. 350-1; Bad' VI, p. 32; Bagh., p. 66; Kāmil, IV, pp. 355-7; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 206-16, 220-3; 'Ibar, III, pp. 343-4.

2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 356; Bayān, III, p. 134; Ma'ārif, p. 181; Ansāb, fol. 38a-38b; Dīnawarī, p. 289; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 329-30; , = .

While some accepted this offer, others, including 'Ubaida himself, decided to fight and were very easily defeated (76/692).<sup>1</sup> Thus this dangerous Khārijite sect was exterminated. Sufyān, however, remained in Ṭabaristān until he was recalled to Iraq prior to the battle of Dair al-Jamā'im between 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ash'ath and al-Hajjāj.<sup>2</sup>

During the time of the war against the Azāriqa, another serious Khārijite rebellion occurred in the Jazīra region, forming a potential threat to Kūfa and its surroundings. This rebellion was led by the Ṣufrite Ṣālīh ibn Musarrih al-Tamīmī. However, the movement took its name from that of Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-Shaibānī, one of the most distinguished followers of Ṣālīh and was able to defy the government's forces for over a year.

We have two accounts of this event. The first and most detailed one is that of Abū Mikhnaḥ in Balādhurī and Ṭabarī. The second is that of 'Awāna ibn al-Hakam, reported by Balādhurī, Ibn A'tham and the author of Ghurār al-Siyar. While it is interesting to have both the Iraqi and the Syrian accounts,

= Tab., II, pp. 1018-20 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 90b-91a; Ghurār, fols. 46-7; Bad', VI, p. 33; Bagh., p. 66; Kāmil, IV, p. 357-8; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26b; Wafayāt, I, p. 601; Bidāya, IX, p. 30 (citing Abū Ma'shar and Wāqidī); Ibar, III, p. 344; Shadharāt, I, pp. 86-7 (quoting Ibn Qutaiba).

1. Ansāb, fols. 38b-39a; Tab., II, pp. 1020-1 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 91a-92a; Ghurār, fols. 47-8; Bagh., p. 66; Mu'jam, III, p. 62; Kāmil, pp. 358-9; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26b; Ibar, III, pp. 344-5; Gabrieli, La Poesia Harigita nel Secolo degli Omayyadī, p. 358, RSO, 1943; I. 'Abbās, op.cit., pp. 52-3.

2. See Chapter V, p. 278

unfortunately 'Awana's account is not only brief, but also inconsistent and lacks chronology. Moreover, it presents a somewhat incomplete picture, since it omits the beginning of the movement by Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ. However, the details provided by Abū Mikhnaḥ's account fit in with and supplement the other historians, such as Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt and Ibn Qutaiba. Furthermore, Abū Mikhnaḥ reports his account on the authority of eye-witnesses on both sides; men like al-Muḥallamī, Farwa ibn Laqīṭ, 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn Jundub and the Syrian Abū Zaid al-Saksakī. For all these reasons, we should place more reliance on the narrative of Abū Mikhnaḥ.

The movement began when Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ, the Kharijite leader in Dārā, and about 120 followers rebelled against Muḥammad ibn Marwān, the governor of Mūsīl and Jazīra in Ṣafar, 67/May, 695.<sup>1</sup> They seized some of the Dawāb(animals) belonging to the governor, in Dārā. This was an essential first step, since none of them was mounted. For thirteen days they remained in the area arousing the fear of the people of Dārā, Naṣībīn and Sinjār. At first the governor underestimated the importance of this Kharijite band and tried to send 'Adī ibn 'Adī ibn 'Umaira with only five

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1. However, Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ was not the first Kharijite to revolt in the Jazīra region. His revolt was preceded by that of Faḍāla ibn Sayyār al-Taimī al-Shaibānī, who with his eighteen followers was massacred by the 'Anza tribesmen. The caliph rewarded the latter by letting them settle in the Bāniqyā' and assigning 'Atā' to them. Tab., II, p.893 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p.321; 'Ibar, III, p.326.

hundred men against them. It was only when 'Adī called the attention of the governor to the fact that they contained the bravest cavalry of the Rabī'ites, that he agreed to increase this expedition to one thousand men. However, 'Adī, who was a pious man and therefore hesitant to fight them, was surprised and put to flight by Ṣāliḥ and his followers in a place called Sūq Dhūghān.<sup>1</sup>

Following this defeat, Muḥammad ibn Marwān reconsidered the situation and sent two armies against the Ṣufriyya, each of which contained 1500 men under Khālīd ibn Jaz' al-Sulamī and al-Ḥārith ibn Ja'ūna al-Murri. When hostilities were resumed, the Khārījites found themselves unable to cope with this overwhelming force, and retreated by night to al-Daskara. This brought them into conflict with al-Ḥajjāj, for al-Daskara was considered as a Kūfan territory. Consequently, al-Ḥajjāj dispatched three thousand men under al-Ḥārith ibn 'Umaira al-Hamdānī against them. Al-Ḥārith and his army followed them until they met in a battle in al-Mudabbaj, in the Maūsīl region, where the Khārījites were beaten and their leader Ṣāliḥ was killed on 13th Jumāda 1, 76/3rd September, 695.<sup>2</sup> The seventy men of Ṣāliḥ's followers who survived the battle of al-Mudabbaj, retreated into a stronghold there. But Shabīb

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 351; Ansāb, fol. 44a (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Tab., II, pp. 886-9 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, pp. 318-9; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 21a-21b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 225-9; Dhahabī, III, p. 121; Bidāya, IX, pp. 10-12 (quoting Tabarī); Ibar, III, pp. 324-5.
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 351 (here Jumāda II is mentioned); Ansāb, fols. 44a-44b (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Tab., II, pp. 889-92 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Bagh., p. 89; Milal, p. 224; Mu'jam, IV, p. 448; Kāmil, IV, pp. 319-20; =

ibn Yazīd al-Shaibānī, who now assumed the leadership, succeeded in saving them; for in a night attack he inflicted a defeat on his enemy, and the Ṣufriyya escaped far from Kūfa.<sup>1</sup> This was the beginning of a series of military victories over the troops of al-Ḥajjāj, which met but rarely with reverses until Shabīb's death.

In Maṣīl, Shabīb was joined by Salama ibn Sayyār, and together they raided the tribes of 'Anza and Banū Shaibān, Shabīb's own tribe. Meanwhile, al-Ḥajjāj ordered Sufyān ibn Abi'l-'Āliya al-Khath'amī, originally sent to Ṭabaristān, to return to fight Shabīb. Al-Ḥajjāj also ordered Sawra ibn Abjar to take over the army of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Umaira, and join Sufyān in his campaign against Shabīb. However, Sufyān and his army met Shabīb in Khanaqīn before Sawra was able to arrive, where Sufyān was defeated. Then, following the orders of al-Ḥajjāj, Sawra ibn Abjar with his army

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= Mir'āt, VI, fols. 21b-22b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 230-1 (citing Farwa ibn Laqīt); Dhahabī, III, p. 122 (here also Jumāda II is given); Bidāya, IX, pp. 12-13 (quoting Tabarī); 'Ibar, III, p. 325. According to Balādhurī, Shahrastānī and Yāqūt, it was Bishr ibn Marwān who sent the army of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Umaira against Ṣālih ibn Musarriḥ and his followers. However, judging from the fact that Ṣālih was killed in the year 76, and that the death of Bishr ibn Marwān was in the year 75, it is certain that it was al-Ḥajjāj and not Bishr who sent that army. Ansāb, fol. 44a; Milal, p. 224; Mu'jam, IV, p. 448.

1. It is said that Ṣālih ibn Musarriḥ, before his death, ordered his followers to pay homage to Shabīb. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 351; Ma'ārif, p. 180; Bagh., p. 89; Milal, p. 224; Dhahabī, III, p. 112. However, another account says that Shabīb himself, after Ṣālih's death, asked the latter's followers to pay him homage and they agreed to do so. Ansāb, fol. 45b (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Tab., II, p. 891 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 320; Sharḥ, IV, p. 231; 'Ibar, III, pp. 325-6.

pursued Shabīb. They met in battle in al-Nahrawān, where Sawra was defeated and followed until he reached al-Madā'in. Thanks to local resistance, Shabīb was turned away from al-Madā'in, and the troops of Sawra went back to Kūfa.<sup>1</sup>

After these successive defeats, al-Ḥajjāj raised an army of four thousand men under 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd al-Kindī, nicknamed al-Jazl. Contrary to his predecessors, the latter showed great caution towards Shabīb, being always on the alert and digging trenches to avoid night attacks. For two months no decisive battle issued between the two. The impatient al-Ḥajjāj could wait no longer, and he replaced al-Jazl by Sa'īd ibn al-Mujālid al-Hamdānī. Al-Ḥajjāj ordered the latter to reverse his predecessor's strategy and to fight Shabīb as soon as he saw him. Following these orders, Sa'īd led his army in pursuit of Shabīb and his followers, until they met in Barāz al-Rūz. A fierce struggle took place which ended in a disaster for al-Ḥajjāj's army; Sa'īd was killed and his army fled. However, al-Jazl tried to rally them, but he was severely wounded and soon died in al-Madā'in.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 351; Ansāb, fols. 45b-46a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 893-901 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, pp. 321-4; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 22a; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 232-6; Dhahabī, III, p. 122; Ibar, III, pp. 326-7; E. I.<sup>1</sup> (Shabīb ibn Yazīd ibn Nu'aim al-Shaibānī).
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 351; Ansāb, fol. 46a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Ma'ad, fols. 28b, 69a; Tab., II, pp. 202-11 (citing Abū Mikhnaf) 911-15; Kāmil, IV, pp. 324-7; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 22a-22b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 227-44; Dhahabī, III, p. 122; Ibar, III, pp. 327-8.

As a result of this victory, Shabīb marched towards Kūfa routing an army which al-Ḥajjāj sent against him commanded by Suwaid ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa’dī. However, Shabīb did not enter Kūfa but instead went to Ādharbāyjan. It seems that Shabīb decided to give his followers a rest and also planned to surprise his enemy. Throughout all his wars with the government he showed himself a master of guerrilla warfare. His small forces helped him to move swiftly, enabling him to surprise his enemies. Moreover, because he was on good terms with the Christian population in the area of his military operations, they helped him to find shelter for his small forces, and also provided him with full information about his enemy's movement.<sup>1</sup> However, al-Ḥajjāj was relieved to know that Shabīb was far from Kūfa, and he went to Baṣra. While he was there, he heard that Shabīb was on his way to Kūfa, which news sent him back to Kūfa. He reached there the afternoon of Shabīb's arrival in the evening of the same day. That night, Shabīb and his two hundred followers entered Kūfa and defied al-Ḥajjāj by thundering with an iron bar on the gate of the Qaṣr (palace) of al-Ḥajjāj, leaving a deep trace on it. They also went to the mosque of Kūfa, killing all those who they found praying there. But in the morning they dispersed.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj then sent Zahr ibn Qais al-Ju‘fī with eighteen hundred

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1. E. I.<sup>1</sup>, (Shabīb ibn Yazīd ibn Nu‘aim al-Shaibānī).

2. It is said that Shabīb entered Kūfa with his wife Ghazāla, who performed her prayers in the mosque of Kūfa in fulfilment of a vow she had made some time earlier. Khālifa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 352; Ma‘ārif, p. 181; Ansāb, fols. 46b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), 48a (citing al-Haytham); Kūfī, II, fol. 93a; Ghurār, fol. 29; Murūj, V, pp. 320-1, 441; =

cavalry men to pursue Shabīb and fight him. At the same time, al-Hajjāj sent Bishr ibn Ghālīb al-Asadī with two thousand men; Zā'ida ibn Qudāma al-Thaqafī with two thousand men; Abu 'l-Dharīs, a mawlā of Tamīm, with one thousand men; A'yūn, a mawlā of Bishr ibn Marwān with one thousand men; and Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Talḥa with two thousand men. 'Abd al-Malik appointed the latter to the governorship of Sistān and made him dependent on al-Hajjāj. Al-Hajjāj had persuaded him that he should not go to Sistān before fighting Shabīb, to get the merit of defeating or killing him. Al-Hajjāj also made Zā'ida ibn Qudāma the commander-in-chief of these five armies, which were gathered at Rūdbār, about twenty four parasangs from Kūfa. Meanwhile, Shabīb had met Zahr ibn Qais, seriously wounded him and routed his army. Then Shabīb marched against the huge army under Zā'ida ibn Qudāma, killing the latter and defeating his army.<sup>1</sup> Despite the urging of his followers, he did not attack Kūfa although it lay open to him by this time, and thus did not take advantage of his victory. Instead he went to Khānjār, where he constituted a direct threat to al-Madā'in, the door to Kūfa.

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= Agh., XVI, p. 155; Bagh., pp. 90-1 (here his mother's name is mentioned instead); Mir'āt, VI, fol. 23a; Wafayāt, I, p. 314; Bidāya, IX, p. 14; Shadharāt, I, pp. 83-4; I. 'Abbās, op. cit., pp. 63-4. However, the narrative of Abu Mikhnaḥ in Ṭabarī, repeated by Ibn al-A'thīr, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd and Ibn Khaldūn, is completely silent on Ghazālā's vow and prayers. Tab., II, pp. 917-19; Kāmil, IV, pp. 328-9; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 245-7; Iḥṣār, III, pp. 329-30.

1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 352; Ma'ārif, pp. 180-1; 'Uyūn, p. 152 (citing Abu 'l-Ya'qūdān); Ansāb, fols. 46b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), 50a (citing Abū 'Ubaida); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 328; Tab., II, pp. 915-29 (citing =



Again al-Ḥajjāj raised an army under ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash‘ath and ordered him to fight Shabīb. On the advice of al-Jazl, Ibn al-Ash‘ath was always on his guard and entrenched himself at night. Shabīb, failing to surprise this army, tried to draw Ibn al-Ash‘ath into rough and difficult passes and roads to tire him out, so that he could then launch his attack. But Ibn al-Ash‘ath refused to be drawn, although his caution infuriated al-Ḥajjāj, who replaced Ibn al-Ash‘ath by ‘Uthmān ibn Qaṭan al-Hārithī. The new leader was as hasty as his predecessor had been cautious and very soon engaged in a battle with Shabīb on the banks of the river Dujail, Dhu'l-Ḥajja, 76/March, 696. But here again al-Ḥajjāj's army was defeated and its leader ‘Uthmān ibn Qaṭan killed, while Ibn al-Ash‘ath managed to return to Kūfa with the routed army.<sup>1</sup>

After these brilliant military victories, Shabīb went to the mountains of Bahrugān where he spent the three months of the summer of 77/696. Here he was joined by many who were dissatisfied with al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>2</sup> However, these three months of unofficial truce gave al-Ḥajjāj time to mobilize all those Kūfans able to fight and in receipt of the ‘Atā’, and also some Baṣran troops. The

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= Abū Mikhnaf); Jamharat, p. 183; Bagh., pp. 90-1; Kāmil, IV, pp. 327-33; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 23a-23b, Sharh, IV, pp. 244-54 (citing Farwa ibn Laqīṭ); Wafayāt, I, p. 314; Dhahabī, III, p. 122; Bidāya, IX, p. 14; Ibar, III, pp. 328-32; Shadharāt, I, pp. 83-4.

1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 352; Ansāb, fols. 46b-47a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 930-9 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 92b; Ghurar, fols. 48-9; Bagh., pp. 90; Kāmil, IV, pp. 333-6; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 23b-24a; Sharh, IV, pp. 256-60; Dhahabī, II, p. 122; Bidāya, IX, p. 14; Ibar, III, pp. 332-4.

2. Tab., II, p. 914; (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p. 338; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 24b; Sharh, IV, pp. 260-1.

number of this army is said to have reached fifty thousand men.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, Shabīb marched on al-Madā'in, where Muṭarrif ibn al-Mughīra was governor. The latter was a fanatical Muslim, sympathetic to the Khārījite cause although he was not one of them. When Shabīb approached al-Madā'in, he kept him for four days in discussions, but without any result.<sup>2</sup> Realising that al-Ḥajjāj would punish him, Muṭarrif evacuated al-Madā'in and went to the mountains. Thus Shabīb seized the city, a fact which gave him a better strategy for his attack on Kūfa. Meanwhile, al-Ḥajjāj recalled 'Attāb ibn Warqā' al-Riyāhī, who was fighting the Azāriqa with al-Muhallab, and gave him the command of the overwhelming army he had raised against Shabīb.<sup>3</sup> 'Attāb made his camp in Sūq Ḥakama not far from Baghdād. Shabīb, however, with only six hundred followers, was able to defeat 'Attāb's army, and killed 'Attāb.<sup>4</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj, however, had already appealed to the caliph for help after the Kūfans had failed

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1. Bidāya, IX, p. 17.

2. See p. 333 ff.

3. See p. 312.

4. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 345; Ansāb, fol. 47a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 942-54 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 92b; Kāmil, IV, pp. 338-43; Mir'at, VI, fols. 24b-25b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 261-8; Dhahabī, III, pp. 122-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ and Farwa ibn Laqīṭ); Bidāya, IX, p. 17; Ibar, III, pp. 334-6; Shadharat, I, pp. 83-4.

to meet the Khārijite threat. The caliph sent him six thousand Syrians, four thousand under Sufyān ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbī and two thousand under Ḥabīb ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī.<sup>1</sup>

The death of ‘Attāb and the defeat of his army encouraged Shabīb to march on Kūfa. On his way there he defeated an army of one thousand men under al-Ḥārith ibn Mu‘āwiya al-Thaqafī. Then Shabīb made his camp in one of the Kūfan suburbs, where he built a mosque, showing that he was there for a considerable time. Before the next decisive battle, Shabīb was able to kill the mawālī and slaves which al-Ḥajjāj had equipped to defend him. However, al-Ḥajjāj and his Syrian army made their camp in al-Sabkhā, and soon a battle was joined. None of the Kūfans who had been in the army of ‘Attāb were allowed to participate in this battle, except for Khālīd the son of ‘Attāb, and Sawra ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mikhnaf, with a very small number of Kūfans.<sup>2</sup> However, contrary to all previous battles, Shabīb was strongly resisted by the Syrians, and began to retreat slowly. Meanwhile, with the permission of al-Ḥajjāj, Khālīd ibn ‘Attāb and some Kūfans attacked

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1. Ansāb, fol. 47a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Ṭab., II, p. 943 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 93a; Ghurār, fol. 49; Murūj, V, pp. 322-3; Kāmil, IV, p. 339; Mir’āt, VI, fol. 24b; Sharḥ, IV, p. 263; Wafayāt, I, p. 314; Dhahabī, III, p. 123; Bidāya, IX, p. 14; ‘Ibar, III, p. 334.

2. The narrative of ‘Umar ibn Shabba in Tabarī, however, tries to ignore completely the Syrian role in this battle. Ṭab., II, pp. 962-9; Wellhausen, Die Religios Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p. 46.

Shabīb's camp from the rear, killing his wife Ghazāla and his brother Maṣād, and setting fire to the camp. When Shabīb heard of this, he and his followers took to flight followed by al-Hajjāj's army (77/697).<sup>1</sup>

Al-Hajjāj sent Habīb ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hakmī with three thousand Syrians in pursuit of Shabīb. They met in al-Anbār but no decisive battle took place, and Shabīb with his followers retreated to al-Ahwāz and then to Kirmān where they stayed for some time for relief and recovery.<sup>2</sup> Al-Hajjāj dispatched against him in Kirmān, Sufyān ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbī with a Syrian army. Al-Hajjāj also ordered his deputy governor in Basra, al-Hakam ibn Ayyūb al-Thaqafī, to send a Basran army to assist Sufyān. Therefore, Ziyād ibn 'Amr al-Atkī and four thousand Basrans were sent to join Sufyān, but they arrived only after the latter had already engaged Shabīb in battle. On the other hand, Shabīb lost some of his followers who accepted the Amān of al-Hajjāj. In order to meet Sufyān, Shabīb crossed

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 354; 'Uyūn, p. 152 (citing Abū 'I Yaqdān); Ansāb, fols. 47a-47b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 955-61 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fols. 93b-94a; Ghurār, fols. 50-1; Murūj, V, pp. 221-2; Kāmil, IV, pp. 343-5; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 25b-26a; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 268-72; Wafayāt, I, p. 314; Dhahabī, III, p. 123-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ) Bidāya, IX, pp. 17-19; 'Ibar, III, pp. 336-8; Shadharāt, I, pp. 83-4.
  2. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 354; Ansāb, fol. 47b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 328 (here as well as in Kūfī and Ghurār, the name 'Alqama ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān is given); Tab., II, pp. 969-72 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kūfī, II, fol. 94a; Ghurār, fol. 51; Bagh., p. 91; Kāmil, IV, pp. 345-6; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26a; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 272-5; Dhahabī, III, p. 124; 'Ibar, III, pp. 337-8.

the river Dujail and came to al-Ahwāz, where hostilities began. Once again Shabīb could not meet the strong resistance of the Syrians and began to retreat, crossing back over the river Dujail. He let all his followers cross first, and while he in the rear was on the bridge, he fell in and was drowned.<sup>1</sup> This was probably at the end of 77/697.

Different versions exist of the death of Shabīb. According to one account,<sup>2</sup> while he was crossing his horse's foot went off the bridge, because there was a mare in front of him, thus tossing Shabīb in the river. Another account<sup>3</sup> says that when Shabīb was on the bridge, Sufyān ordered the bridge to be cut down, thus causing Shabīb's death. Finally, there is a third account

1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p. 355; Ma'ārif, p. 180; 'Uyūn, p. 152 (citing Abu'l-Yaqdān); Ansāb, fols. 47b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), 48a (citing al-Haytham); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 328; Tab., II, pp. 972-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kūfī, II, fol. 94a; Ghurār, fol. 51; Murūj, V, p. 322; Bagh., p. 91; Milāl, p. 224; Kāmil, IV, pp. 346-50; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 26a; Sharh, IV, pp. 276-78; Wafayāt, I, p. 314; Mukhtaṣar, I, p. 208; Dhahabī, III, pp. 124-5; Bidāya, IX, pp. 19-20 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); 'Ibar, III, pp. 338-40; Shadharāt, I, p. 84; Theophanos, Chronographia, the year 6185.
2. Ansāb, fol. 47b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, p. 974 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Murūj, V, p. 322; Kāmil, IV, p. 349; Sharh, IV, p. 277 (citing Farwa ibn Laqīṭ); Wafayāt, I, p. 314; Dhahabī, III, p. 125 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Bidāya, IX, pp. 19-20 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); 'Ibar, III, pp. 339-40.
3. Ansāb, fols. 47b, 49a (citing al-Haytham); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 328; Kūfī, II, fol. 49a; Ghurār, fol. 51; Bagh., p. 91.

which reports that some of Shabīb's own followers had already crossed before Shabīb and that they cut the ropes of the bridge which led to its collapse and the death of Shabīb.<sup>1</sup> What makes it difficult to decide in favour of any of these narratives is that, while Abū Mikhnaḥ implies that the last account is the right one,<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Aṭhīr and Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd<sup>3</sup> prefer the first account. However, several reasons make us think that the third account is the most convincing. Apart from the fact that the first account reads more as a story than history,<sup>4</sup> the second seems unlikely; for if Sufyān could cut the bridge, would not it have been wiser to do so when Shabīb had first crossed the River Dujail, saving himself the difficult task of fighting him? On the other hand, Shabīb had killed some of his own people (Banū Shaibān) as well as other tribes,<sup>5</sup> in his raids on those who did not follow him. This seemed enough to turn some of his followers against him, especially those who did not profess Kharijism as such, but had joined him out of fear, or to get material benefits as a result of his

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1. Ansāb, fols. 47b, 149a; Tab., II, pp. 975-6 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 349; Sharḥ, IV, p. 277; Bidāya, IX, p. 20 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī).
  2. Tab., II, p. 976.
  3. Kāmil, IV, p. 349; Sharḥ, IV, p. 277.
  4. Wellhausen, Die Religios Politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam, p. 47.
  5. Ansāb, fols. 47a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), 49a (citing al-Haytham); Tab., II, pp. 895 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 915-16 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 941 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 975 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ), 976-7 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 322; Sharḥ, IV, p. 277; Bidāya, IX, p. 20 (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Iḥṣān, III, p. 326.

brilliant military successes, or else to escape al-Ḥajjāj's severe policies.<sup>1</sup>

It should be added that disputes arose among his followers and also others felt jealousy towards him. It is reported that in the battle of al-Sabkha, Maṣqala ibn Muḥalhal al-Dabbī with some of his followers deserted Shabīb, because the latter refused to show adherence to Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ.<sup>2</sup> Some of Shabīb's followers also were dissatisfied with him because at one time he showed mercy to his own people or old friends.<sup>3</sup> Finally, according to al-Haytham ibn 'Adī,<sup>4</sup> some of his followers accused him of being unjust and in giving a mare to one of his followers. It is very likely, therefore, that Shabīb had met his death at the hands of those malcontents among his followers. The fate of Najda ibn 'Āmir al-Ḥanafi and that of Qaṭrī ibn al-Fujā'a confirms this view.<sup>5</sup>

However, Shabīb's death proved the turning point in the Ṣufriyya movement: his followers chose al-Buṭain as their leader and continued to defy the

1. Tab., II, p. 941 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 338; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 24b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 260-1, 274-5; Ibar, III, p. 334.

2. Tab., II, p. 967 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba).

3. Ansāb, fols. 48 (citing al-Haytham), 50a (citing Abū 'Ubaida); Tab., II, pp. 927-8, 928 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba), 967-9 (citing 'Umar ibn Shabba), 975 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, pp. 328, 333, 349; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 23b; Sharḥ, IV, pp. 252-4.

4. Ansāb, fol. 49a.

5. See pp. 302, 314.

government by seizing the Sūq al-Ahwāz, but without great enthusiasm. Sufyān ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbī with his army followed al-Butāin and his followers and the two met in a battle; before long the Ṣufriyya asked Sufyān for Amān in return for thier submission, and al-Butāin had to flee to save his life. He was soon seized, however, and put to death by an order of al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>1</sup>

How had the movement been able to sustain its success for so long? At the height of its power under Shabīb, it had never numbered more than a thousand supporters, and normally far fewer. This small army had been able to defy larger forces of the government, partly because of their skill in guerilla warfare, partly because of the help they received from the Christians in the area. But blame must also rest with al-Ḥajjāj: in his impetuosity, he thought only to send larger and larger armies against them. His thinking remained conventional: he never grasped the principle of adapting his strategy to meet guerrilla tactics. It was not until the arrival of Syrian troops that the Ṣufriyya began to experience reverses.

Another revolt against al-Ḥajjāj and the Umayyad rule came from al-Madā'in, led by Muṭarrif ibn al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba al-Thaqafī, the governor of al-Ḥajjāj there: whether or not it was a Khārijite revolt historians

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārikh, I, p.355; Ansāb, fol.49b (citing Madā'inī).



disagree, but certainly it was associated with the Khārijites.

Our information about this revolt comes from the narrative of Ibn al-Kalbī in Balādhurī and that of Abū Mikhnaḥ in Ṭabarī. Apart from the details provided by Abū Mikhnaḥ, which he reports on the authority of al-Naḍr ibn Ṣāliḥ, a friend and a courtier of Muṭarrif, these two accounts are fundamentally the same; which leads to the conclusion that either Ibn al-Kalbī used Abū Mikhnaḥ's account, or else they both utilized a common source.

Muṭarrif and his two brothers Ḥamza and 'Urwa were considered among the Ashraf of the time and enjoyed a reputation for good conduct. For these reasons, and possibly also because of kinship with al-Ḥajjāj, they received the latter's favour; he appointed Muṭarrif as governor of al-Mada'in, Ḥamza the governor of Hamadān, and 'Urwa his deputy in Kūfa during his residence in Basra.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Muṭarrif was in authority over al-Mada'in in the year 77/696, while al-Ḥajjāj was busy fighting the Khārijite Shabīb. When Shabīb marched from Satidma towards Kūfa, Muṭarrif wrote to al-Ḥajjāj informing him of his advance and asking for re-inforcements to defend al-Mada'in. Al-Ḥajjāj sent him four hundred men under Sabra ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn

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1. Ansāb, fol. 29b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 979-80 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 355; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 28a; Ibar, III, p. 340.

Mikhnaf and 'Abdallāh ibn Kunnāz. By this time Shabīb had reached Buhursīr where he made his camp.<sup>1</sup>

Muṭarrif, realising how close Shabīb was, cut down the bridge which connected al-Madā'in to Buhursīr. He also wrote to Shabīb asking him to send some trustworthy men among his followers "to examine their understanding of the Qur'ān and to inquire about your preaching" (إدارسهم القرآن) <sup>1</sup> Our sources do not say whether this surprising request sprang from Muṭarrif's sympathy to the Kharījite cause, or whether he intended to show them the error of their ways. Shabīb agreed and his deputation told Muṭarrif that their cause was "the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet; they opposed the appropriation of the Fay', the disregard of the Hudūd and the practice of oppression" (كتاب الله وسنة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله) <sup>2</sup> Muṭarrif agreed with all these aims and appeared to have thought of joining them. But he insisted that the caliphate should be an elective office restricted to the Quraishites. He believed that the Quraishite claim to the caliphate would rally the 'Arabs freely under their banner. <sup>4</sup> Thus both his

1. Tab., II, pp. 946-7 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, pp. 350-1.

2. Ansāb, fol. 29b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 981-3 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p. 352; Ḥair'at, IV, fol. 28a; Ḥabar, III, p. 340.

3. Tab.; II, p. 984 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ).

4. Ansāb, fol. 29a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tbb., II, pp. 983-4 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Kāmil, IV, p. 351; Mir'āt, VI, fol. 28a; Ibar, III, pp. 340-1.

insistence on a Quraishite caliph and his emphasis on an 'Arab following separated him from the Kharijites; the latter maintained that the most distinguished man should be elected caliph, regardless of his family or his tribal connections. Nor did they care whether their support was from 'Arab, mawlā or slave. However, the interest Muṭarrif had shown in Kharijism encouraged Shabīb to try again to win him over to his side. He sent some of his followers to Muṭarrif to convince him that Quraish had no better claim to the caliphate than any other 'Arab; but without avail. Thus the negotiations between them, which had lasted for four days, ended without either side having come to terms.

In the event, al-Ḥajjāj unintentionally profited from the situation. For these four days of negotiations prevented Shabīb from surprising on their way to Kūfa the Syrian troops which 'Abd al-Malik had sent to the aid of al-Ḥajjāj. Moreover, it gave time for 'Attāb ibn Warqā' al-Riyāhī to reach Kūfa from Kirmān.<sup>1</sup> 'Attāb was to command the army raised by al-Ḥajjāj against Shabīb.<sup>2</sup>

Muṭarrif now found himself caught between Shabīb and al-Ḥajjāj; fearing attack from the former and punishment from the latter, he left al-Mada' in

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1. Ansāb, fol. 35b (citing Madā' inī); Tab., II, p. 947 (citing Abū Mikhnaḥ); Sharḥ, IV, p. 262; Kāmil, IV, pp. 340-1.

2. See p.

and went to al-Daskara. There, he gathered a council of the prominent men among his followers and for the first time told them of his intention to rebel. He declared the deposition of both al-Ḥajjāj and ‘Abd al-Malik. He gave his followers the choice of either following him or returning to their city. While some went back, the majority remained with him and swore homage to him <sup>1</sup> according to "The Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet; and the doctrine that the choice of a Quraishite caliph should be decided by a Shūra". Among those who deserted him were Sabra ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mikhnaf and ‘Abdallāh ibn Kunnāz with their four hundred men, where they took part with the Syrian army in the fighting against Shabīb.<sup>2</sup>

From al-Daskara, Muṭarrif went to Ḥalwān, where Suwaid ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa’dī was governor for al-Ḥajjāj. To put himself in favour with al-Ḥajjāj, Suwaid went out with a small army against Muṭarrif. But Suwaid was reluctant to fight Muṭarrif, perhaps out of sympathy with him, and asked him secretly to leave Ḥalwān, which the latter did. He went to Hamdān where his brother Ḥamza was governor. On his way, Muṭarrif was interrupted by the Kurds, but defeated them in al-Thanya.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ansāb, fol. 30a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), Tab., II, pp. 988-9 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, pp. 351-2; Mir’āt, VI, fol. 28a; ‘Ibar, III, p. 341.
  2. See p. 326
  3. Ansāb, fol. 30a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī), Tab., II, pp. 989-91 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Kāmil, IV, p. 352; Mir’āt, VI, fol. 28a; ‘Ibar, III, p. 341.

When Muṭarrif approached Hamadān, he sent for his brother, asking his help. The latter, although he would not join him, sent him money and weapons. In order not to harm his brother, Muṭarrif did not enter Hamadān, instead making his way to Iṣbahān where he pitched his camp. By now his followers had increased, for people from al-Rayy and other districts opposing al-Ḥajjāj's severe policies, joined him. Consequently, al-Barā' ibn Qabīṣa, the governor of Iṣbahān, wrote for al-Ḥajjāj asking for re-inforcements. The latter ordered 'Adī ibn Wattād, the governor of al-Rayy, to join al-Barā', and sent other re-inforcements to him. Their army, which now numbered six thousand, was placed under the command of 'Adī ibn Wattād. Al-Ḥajjāj had previously removed Ḥamza from Hamadān, lest he should join his brother. He chose as the new governor of Hamadān, Qais ibn Sa'd al-'Ijlī, because the latter's tribe was the most powerful in Hamadān. Soon the two armies joined in battle, and after a severe struggle, Muṭarrif was killed and his followers dispersed.<sup>1</sup>

Our authorities differ as to the nature of the revolt of Muṭarrif. Abū Mikhnaf passes almost completely silent on his motives, without committing himself to any explanation.<sup>2</sup> According to al-Haytham ibn 'Adī,<sup>3</sup> Muṭarrif

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1. Ansāb, fols. 30a-30b (citing Ibn al-Kalbī); Tab., II, pp. 992-1000 (citing Abū Mikhnaf); Jamharat, p. 255; Kāmil, IV, pp. 352-3; Mir'āt, VI, fols. 28a-28b; 'Iḥṣān, III, pp. 341-2.
  2. There is, however, some indication which implies that it was not a Khārījite revolt. Tab., II, pp. 987, 992.
  3. Ansāb, fol. 29a.

was "opposing al-Munkar (moral atrocities) and did not go as far as the Khārijites". Balādhurī,<sup>1</sup> however, in assessing Muṭarrif's views, states that "some said that Muṭarrif held the Khārijite doctrine, but this is false. His views were the same as the Qurra' who revolted with Ibn al Ash'ath". Similarly, modern historians differ in their opinions on Muṭarrif. Weil<sup>2</sup> considers him as a follower of Shabīb, while Van Vloten<sup>3</sup> thinks that his revolt could be categorised with those of the Ashraf against the Umayyads. Wellhausen, however, is not explicit about Muṭarrif and his views and says that "he had great Khārijite inclinations, but he refused either to be a follower of Shabīb or to fight against him"<sup>4</sup>. However, neither the contacts which Muṭarrif had with Shabīb, nor his rigid attacks on the injustice of the caliph and his governors, necessarily make him a Khārijite. For while the Khārijite sects assert strongly that every believer who is morally and religiously irreproachable qualifies for election to the caliphate, "even if he were a black slave", Muṭarrif restricted the claim to the Qurayshites alone. Moreover, neither the Khārijites nor Muṭarrif's own followers referred to him as a Khārijite, nor did he or his followers adopt the common Khārijite slogan

1. Ansab, fol.30b.

2. Weil, History of the Islamic Peoples, p.122, English translation by S.Kh. Bukhsh, Calcutta, 1914.

3. op. cit., pp.26-7.

4. Die Religios Politischen Oppositions-Parteien im alten Islam, p.45.

"La Ḥukma Illa Li' Llāh". Furthermore, he left behind him no followers preaching a special doctrine. For all these reasons, it seems difficult to depict him as a Khārijite. He was rather a fanatic Muslim who wanted to reject the oppressors of the pious. One therefore can agree with al-Balādhurī that his motivations were no doubt similar to the Qurra'.<sup>1</sup> His contact with Shabīb may have been an attempt to win him over to his side, since they were both agreed on opposing the existing regime and the brilliant military success of Shabīb may well have encouraged Muṭarrif to seek to gain his support. But failing to do so, he also failed to emulate his success and his revolt was ineffectual and shortlived.

Apart from these major risings, there were also during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik other sporadic and shortlived Khārijite risings in al-Jazīra, Yamāma, Bahrain and Basra. The suppression of Shabīb's rebellion did not put an end to the risings in the al-Jazīra region. Soon after Shabīb's death, Abū Ziyād al-Murādī rebelled in Jūkhā. Al-Ḥajjāj sent eight hundred men against him under al-Jarrāḥ ibn 'Abdallāh al-Hakmī, the governor of Bābil and al-Fallūjātain. It was only after fierce fighting that Abū Ziyād and his followers

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1. See Chapter V, pp.291-2

were massacred.<sup>1</sup> In Jūkhā, another Khārijite rising occurred, that of Hudba al-Tā'ī with a small group of followers. But Saif ibn Hāni' was stationed there with his Maslaha' for the purpose of quelling Khārijite insurrections, and he succeeded in seizing Hudba and killing him.<sup>2</sup> Another Khārijite rising came from Dārā under Sakīn al-Shaibānī; but he was seized by the cavalry of Muḥammad ibn Marwān and handed over to al-Hajjāj, who consequently executed him.<sup>3</sup> Another Khārijite rising in the Jazīra region was that of Maṭar ibn 'Imrān in Maṣīl, who was also seized by the cavalry of Muḥammad ibn Marwān and handed over to al-Hajjāj.<sup>4</sup> (All Khārijites seized in the Jazīra or in Syria were handed over to al-Hajjāj for execution to prevent them from using these places as "Dār Hīgra"). Finally, there was the rising of al-Khattār al-Namrī in Rādhān. The latter was originally a Christian but converted to Islam and then adopted Khārijism. He met his death at the hands of Saif ibn Hāni'.<sup>5</sup>

One small Khārijite revolt broke out in al-Yamāma in Sūq Hajar, that of Abū Ḥarīra from the Banū Ḥanīfa. He was soon killed by the people there.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Ansāb, fol. 50b (citing al-Haytham); Ya'qūbī, II, p. 328.

2. Ansāb, fol. 45a; (citing Madā'ini).

3. Ibid., fols. 52b (citing Madā'ini), 53a (citing Ibn al-Kalbī).

4. Ansāb, fol. 52a (citing al-Haytham). However, according to Madā'ini, Maṭar's rebellion was before that of Ṣāliḥ ibn Musarriḥ. Ansāb, fol. 52a.

5. Ansāb, fol. 51b.

6. Ibid., fol. 52a (citing al-Haytham).



Owing to its distance from the central government, al-Bahrain was also a centre of Kharijite revolts. In the year 78/697, while al-Hajjaj was still fighting the Azraqite, Qatrī ibn al-Fujā'a, a Kharijite rebellion broke out in al-Bahrain. The leader of this rising and his followers came from the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais. The governor, Muḥammad ibn Ṣaṣ'a al-Kilābī, appealed to al-Hajjaj for help, but the latter was at this time short of men for the troops of Basra and Kūfa were busy fighting the Azāriqa with al-Muhallab. Al-Hajjaj, therefore, asked the caliph to order Ibrāhīm ibn 'Arabī, the governor of al-Yamāma, to assist the governor of al-Bahrain. Ibrāhīm marched on the rebels, defeated them and returned back to al-Yamāma.<sup>1</sup>

In the following year 79/698 al-Rayyān al-Nakrī revolted against Muḥammad ibn Ṣaṣ'a al-Kilābī. Al-Rayyān was soon joined by another Kharijite rebel, Maymūn, who came from 'Umān. Muḥammad ibn Ṣaṣ'a summoned the people of al-Bahrain to fight al-Rayyān and his followers, but the 'Abd al-Qais, because of their Kharijite sympathy, refused to take part in quelling the rebels. However, Muḥammad sent an army under the Azdite 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-'Awdhī against al-Rayyān, but it was defeated and the latter killed. Shamed by this defeat, and afraid of the

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1. Ibid., fols, 50b-51a (citing Mada'ini).

hostility shown by the 'Abd al-Qais towards him, Muḥammad left al-Bahrain to save his life. However, by this time a disagreement seems to have occurred between al-Rayyān and Maymūn, for the latter left al-Bahrain only forty days after Muḥammad's departure, and returned to 'Umān. Muḥammad, however, did not take advantage of this to return to the country and exploit the disagreement among his enemies. On the other hand, when he heard the news of these alarming events, al-Ḥajjāj dispatched Yazīd ibn Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī with twelve thousand Syrians to help Muḥammad, but they arrived after the latter had already left the country. Yazīd and his army met al-Rayyān with 1500 men in battle, and the latter was killed with a large number of his followers (80/699).<sup>1</sup> Yazīd had the bodies of al-Rayyān and his followers crucified, while their heads were sent to al-Ḥajjāj. The latter imprisoned the previous governor of al-Bahrain for his cowardice and inefficiency in handling the situation; he died in prison.

Soon after al-Rayyān's revolt, Dāwūd ibn Mihriz from 'Abd al-Qais also rebelled. He and his followers first buried the bodies of al-Rayyān and his followers, assisted by the people of al-Bahrain. Dāwūd, however, made al-Qatīf his headquarters, and succeeded in putting to flight the first army sent against him under the police officer of al-Qatīf. He also defeated

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, pp. 358, 360; Ansāb, fol. 51a (citing Madā'inī).

the Azdite 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Awdhī, which defeat, however, had the effect of rallying the Azd with the people of al-Qatīf against Dāwūd and 'Abd al-Qais. This alliance defeated Dāwūd and he and his Khārijite supporters were killed.<sup>1</sup> These continuous risings of Khārijites from 'Abd al-Qais in al-Bahrain led al-Ḥajjāj to seize some of their chiefs, whom he punished severely by death, amputation and imprisonment.<sup>2</sup>

In Baṣra, a Khārijite from 'Abd al-Qais called Abū Ma'bad al-Shannī rebelled. Abū Ma'bad came originally from al-Bahrain and chose Mawqū', a place in the outskirts of Baṣra, as his headquarters. He was, however, soon killed by the troops of al-Ḥakam ibn Ayyūb the governor of Baṣra.<sup>3</sup> Even the last year of 'Abd al-Malik's reign did not pass without a Khārijite rising (86/705), for in this year Dāwūd ibn al-Nu'mān, another of 'Abd al-Qais originally from al-Bahrain, rebelled in Baṣra at Mawqū' of Abū Ma'bad. Dāwūd arrived in Baṣra with forty men, and was joined there by other Khārijites: he probably chose Mawqū' as the centre of his rising, knowing that he could find Khārijite support there. Al-Ḥajjāj's deputy governor in Baṣra, al-Ḥakam ibn Ayyūb, sent against him 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra. After

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1. Ansāb, fol. 51a (citing Madā'inī).

2. Ibid., fols. 51a-51b (citing Madā'inī).

3. Ansāb, fol. 50b (citing Madā'inī); Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 328-9; Mu'jam, II, p. 688 (here, he is called Abū Sa'īd).

putting up strong resistance, Dāwūd and his followers, among whom was his own sister, were killed; this was the last Khārijite rising in the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>1</sup>

In sharp contrast to all these battles and rebellions of Khārijites groups, was the behaviour of the Ibādī Khārijite sect, which enjoyed a friendly relationship with the caliph from the time of their first leader, Ibn Ibād, until the death of ‘Abd al-Malik. Ibn Ibād's successor, Jābir ibn Zaid, was not only friendly with the caliph, but even with his governor in Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj, normally so bitter an enemy to the Khārijites. Jābir is said to have received a salary from al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>2</sup> It is not enough to explain this friendship between the caliph and the Ibādī leaders solely in terms of their Qu‘ūd (quietism),<sup>3</sup> for the Ṣufriyya were also among the Qa‘ada, yet they fought ‘Abd al-Malik repeatedly. But one can find another explanation in the correspondence which took place between the caliph and ‘Abdallah ibn Ibād. The Ibādī chronicles preserve to us two letters of advice Naṣā’ih from ‘Abdallah ibn Ibād to ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>4</sup> The date of these letters is not known,

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1. Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, I, p.348 (he gives the year 75 instead); Ansāb, fols.52a-52b (citing Madā‘īnī).
  2. Rubinacci, II, Califfo ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibādīti, p.105. AIUON, 1954; E.I.<sup>2</sup>, (Al-Ibādiyya).
  3. E.I.<sup>2</sup>, (Al-Ibādiyya).
  4. Siyar, p.77; Barrādī, pp.156-7; Siyar al-‘Umaniyya, pp.445-55.

yet one can conclude that the first letter was written after the year 67/686, for it contains a reference to the defeat of al-Mukhtār by Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair.<sup>1</sup> However, it is obvious that 'Abd al-Malik had taken the initiative in starting the correspondence, since the first letter is a reply of Ibn Ibād to an earlier letter from the caliph, through a certain Sinān ibn 'Āṣim.<sup>2</sup> From this, bearing in mind the caliph's letter to Najda ibn 'Āmir, one can trace one of 'Abd al-Malik's methods of dealing with the Khārījites: bribery! Just as Najda was offered the governorship of al-Yamāma, the leader of the Ibādī Khārījites was offered a pension; whereas the former refused the bribe, the latter appears to have accepted, as we find al-Ḥajjāj paying Jābir a salary.

'Abd al-Malik's approach was subtle: even if the bribe failed, the correspondence might well serve to divide the leader from his followers by arousing their suspicions (as in Najda's case); or, in the case of the Ibādī leader, it served to deepen the difference of opinion between the sect and other Khārījite groups, thus preventing them from uniting to form a common front against the caliph. 'Abd al-Malik's successor, however, appears to have abandoned this policy, and the Ibādī sect was to take up the sword against him.

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1. Rubinacci, op. cit., p.104, AIUON, 1954; E. I.<sup>2</sup>, (Al-'Ibādiyya).

2. Siyar, p.77; Barrādī, pp.156-7; Siyar al-'Umāniyya, pp.445-55.

‘Abd al-Malik's success in suppressing all opposition movements by the end of his reign, gave a new political unity to the Empire, which together with his administrative reforms, laid a solid foundation for the more spectacular achievements of his son, al-Walīd, in the expansion of the Islamic Empire.

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